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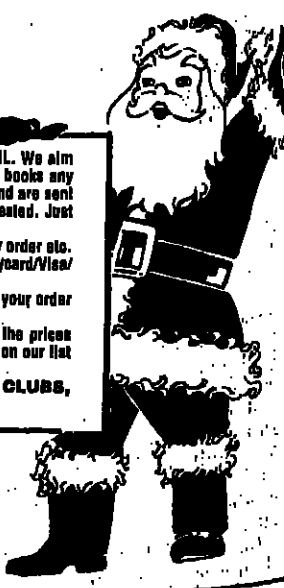
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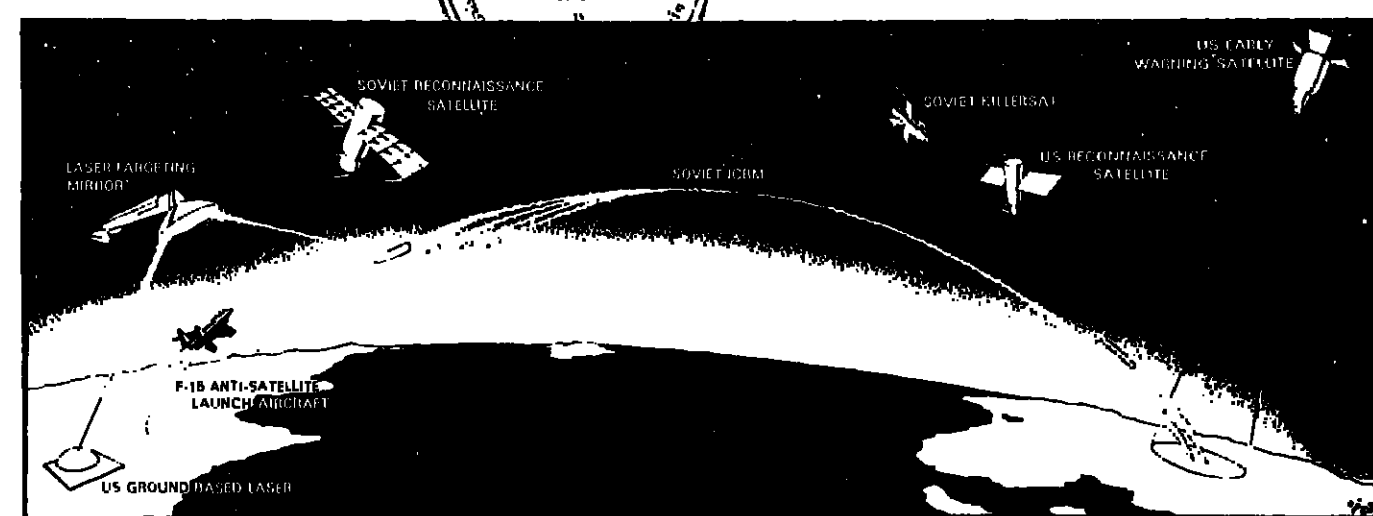


THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Vol. 135 No. 16 Week ending October 19, 1986

Star Wars scuppers the summit

The Iceland summit, which at one stage seemed to be on the verge of the most comprehensive disarmament package for twenty years or more, collapsed on Sunday with Mr Reagan refusing to budge on the issue of the Strategic Defence Initiative for Star Wars, which he later described as a necessary insurance policy for the American people. For millions of people world-wide the failure was seen as an historic lost opportunity. (Reports, pages 6, 7, 18.)



All done with mirrors — Star Wars is supposed to work by setting up a defensive shield of laser weapons to destroy incoming missiles in flight.

THE GUARDIAN Counting the cost of collapse

THE worst interpretation is bleak indeed. It is that what seemed like unprecedented chances for arms control have been lost. If so the Soviet Union must now either match the American Strategic Defence Initiative or build missile systems which will overwhelm whatever shoot-down capability the SDI provides. In either case the day of economic salvation for the Soviet Union is further postponed, and with it the East-West stability and relaxation of internal Soviet tensions which depend on that event. The apparatchiks will pour their languorous scorn on the other items on Gorbachev's agenda now that item one, disarmament, has been crossed off.

If that were indeed the outcome, and it may be a good deal less bleak than that, Mr Gorbachev would have himself partly to blame. Reagan was bounced into Reykjavik before the first rule of diplomacy had been observed. That is that leaders, when they meet on an auspicious occasion, do so only to sign what they have already read closely and agreed. In the heady fizz of the preliminary talks between Shevardnadze and Shultz, as well as in the more minute discussions in Geneva, the point ought to have been taken by the Soviets that, whatever they may think about it, Reagan is emotionally committed not just to laboratory work on his SDI but to development

and testing. If everything at Reykjavik hung on his renunciation of those parts of the project, then it was a huge risk to meet at all.

But the miscalculation can hardly have been all on one side. The Soviets have given the impression that they would indulge Reagan's fancy for the project, knowing that either it wouldn't work, or that the Congress would starve it of funds, or that, barely two years away, another President would be persuaded to abandon it and all its attendant fallacies. In the meantime they were prepared to make big cuts in strategic weapons and — it now transpires — eliminate the medium-range ones in Europe altogether in the belief that by bringing about disarmament in practice they would demonstrate that the ostensible need for SDI was non-existent. The impression that this was indeed their policy gave it a lot of mileage not only with Western European spectators but with professionals who see SDI as a mis-shapen spanner in the whole arms control works. Was there deceit? Or did the Soviets — as those with a seat in the Icelandic stalls believe — attempt a leap of scale and imagination which brought no matching response?

The questions are important because the totality of the stand-off, if not actual

breakdown, at Reykjavik still cannot be satisfactorily explained in either logical or diplomatic terms. Logically the reduction of intermediate weapons (INF) is not linked to the SDI. It is a neat and self-contained little package without many implications for strategic arms control in the large. Land-based medium-range weapons within Europe, targeted within Europe, have appeared within the last ten or twelve years and could as easily disappear. The SDI, even assuming that some time in the future it matches its advocates' promises, is not a defence against theatre weapons within Europe but only against long-range strategic weapons. Therefore its continuance does not give the West that first-strike capability which the Soviets fear. It would have been feasible at Reykjavik, as was generally expected, to agree to the removal of these weapons. Indeed the formula was already on paper: no missiles on either side West of the Urals and 100 pieces in the Far East. That alone would have made a profitable summit.

The Soviets have left all their proposals on the table. Does each one of them depend on the abandonment of SDI development and testing? If so it will be a long time before any advance is made because the SDI is not ready yet. In offering a ten-year moratorium on deployment Reagan was

Continued on page 7

Le Monde Questions may soon be answered

IT was a curious failure that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev announced with such remarkable unanimity in Reykjavik. In other circumstances and with other motivations, the two leaders might, on the contrary, have made their meeting out to have been a great success. For once, it is less the substance than the "dressing" that should raise questions.

For never before in a good 20 years had the two superpowers come so close to clinching such far-reaching agreements. If our understanding is correct, Gorbachev made new concessions on intermediate-range missiles in Europe, agreeing to get rid of all his SS-20s in Europe and calling them back from Asia — a grand total of 100 — which is precisely what the United States had been demanding. On strategic arms, he accepted the principle of the 50 per cent reduction initially sought by Reagan, whereas previously he had been holding out for only a 30 per cent cut.

Finally, even on the question of the Strategic Defence Initiative a rapprochement was noted as both parties were agreed

on the length of the waiting period — ten years — during which the limitations would be respected. The only obstacle today no longer concerns the nature of such limitations, with Gorbachev demanding a "hardening", not just a confirmation, of the 1972 treaty limiting anti-missile weapons.

Given these conditions, what is surprising is Gorbachev's desire to link the two subjects by deciding that deadlock on one of the issues — SDI — should prevent agreement on all the others. Had not the Soviet leader been saying for months that progress on "one or two points" would help towards the holding a "real summit" in Washington, thereby signalling there was no question of an all-or-nothing attitude? Weren't Euromissiles the most obvious case as a year ago Moscow had officially detached them from the other disarmament issues?

The oddest part is that the last summit in Geneva a year ago was made out to be a partial success, whereas then the SDI issue was just as deadlocked and the two parties were much further apart on all the other

issues.

The answer appears to be at two levels. Tactically, it is in Gorbachev's interest to launch a final assault on an SDI already in bad shape by getting the following message across to world public opinion: look at all the things we could do if the American President wasn't clinging so tightly to what has become an old man's hobbyhorse. And at the domestic level, one may also wonder whether the SDI has not served as a pretext for burying what looked like a decidedly over-ambitious disarmament plan. You wonder whether Soviet Chief of Staff Marshal Akhromyev, who was also present in Reykjavik, is as disappointed as his leader at the failure of the meeting.

Gorbachev, like Reagan, has however made it a point of emphasising that progress will be made at the negotiating table; in other words, that there could be new negotiations once the American elections are out of the way. The world will know in a very short time whether "hopes" were buried temporarily or for good in Reykjavik. (October 14)

The Washington Post Zero Option

THE ICELAND Summit appears to have ended very unhappily. A meeting undertaken on the American side as an effort to impart an "impulse" to Soviet-American negotiations became, evidently at Soviet initiative, an unfortunate free-wheeling bargaining session in which the largest issues were suddenly on the table and in a fashion that created an all-or-nothing package. It does not appear that President Reagan had anticipated this development. And although both sides were at pains to point out in their post-summit briefings the considerable movement on some major issues, there can be no disguising the aura of collapse and bleak prospect that hangs over the Soviet-American scene now.

There is still much to learn about the summit. From the American telling, however, it is clear that Mikhail Gorbachev came with one purpose: to offer to pay Mr. Reagan a price he could not refuse for abandoning his Strategic Defence Initiative, a program the Kremlin seems to see not just as a military challenge but as a vehicle for a surpassing technological-economic challenge as well. The price was, in some respects, startling: elimination of offensive weapons in 10 years.

Yet Mr. Reagan, who had been suspected by many of his own supporters of craving agreement, would not take it. He remains committed to his original purpose of exploring an effective shield against nuclear missiles. He also believes, a somber Secretary of State Shultz made clear, that the Kremlin could not be expected to comply with agreements reached if a live SDI potential did not remain in American hands. Hence the president's rejection of what Mr. Shultz described as a Soviet effort to kill SDI by actually changing "strengthening" in the Soviet term) the Antiballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 to restrict all further SDI work to the laboratory.

The surprise and disappointment of Reykjavik — no agreements, no summit plans, no "impulse" imparted to arms control negotiations, no steps reported in human rights or regional disputes — leave Moscow positioned to continue its drive to align Western and American opinion against the Reagan SDI. Mikhail Gorbachev made plain that is exactly what he intends to do. It is hard not to think the president would have done better to stick to his original plan for a modest meeting devoted to making plans for a later, more ambitious summit. He accepted Mr. Gorbachev's chancy invitation to play high-stakes poker, and comes home empty-handed and having to explain why.

Don't rely on the French

I was relieved to hear Dr Owen say on a television programme that he did not expect that co-operation with the French on a replacement for Polaris would be any cheaper than Trident. This is certainly realistic. Whichever missile were chosen, and M5 would make more sense than the M4 which has been mentioned, the French would at least expect us to bear a fair share of the development costs. Our contribution to the development costs of Trident is minimal. But there are other complications which deserve consideration and which seem to have been glossed over.

To take just two: The UK warhead is six years into development to fit the Trident missiles

and must be almost ready to go into production. The warhead would have to be redesigned to fit the French standards, of which we know nothing. Flight testing would be required, as would a programme of underground tests, presumably using the French facilities in the Pacific.

By 1988, the earliest that we might expect a decision to switch to the French, the hull of the first Trident submarine will be three-quarters complete. The missile section would have to be adapted to accept the French missile, and to make life more difficult, the Americans use Imperial measurement, the French, metric. From these and other practical considerations adopting a French

replacement for Polaris at this stage would be a lengthy, costly and risky business.

Besides costing more than Trident, the new system could not possibly be available before Polaris has to be phased out on grounds of age, reliability and credibility.

This leaves aside the question of command. If there were already strong doubts about French willingness to share command, these are confirmed by a letter from Comte de Lipkowski, Charge de Mission du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, published in the Times on September 27, in which he underlines the continuing French resolve to build and maintain an independent nuclear deterrent.

There are no savings to be made by shared patrolling or targeting, which would require joint command, even if the idea of two fingers on the trigger, one of them French, was acceptable to the British people.

Collaboration with the French was one of the options considered and discarded when the Trident decision was made. Raising it now seems to me a political kite that has no chance of getting off the ground.

Lord Lewin,
Admiral of the Fleet,
House of Lords,
London, SW1.

Thatcher's fawning "special" relationship with President Reagan and of the profits of the American arms industry.

It was a truly democratic American, Walt Whitman in "The Song of the Broad Axe", who looked forward to the time when "the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons". May it come soon.

Mr. T. R. M. Creighton,
Brompton Ralph,
Taunton, Somerset.

A democratic American

I am deeply shocked by the news of the suppression of Richard Egnale's book *Star Wars*, *A Question of Initiative*, which was to have been published by John Wiley.

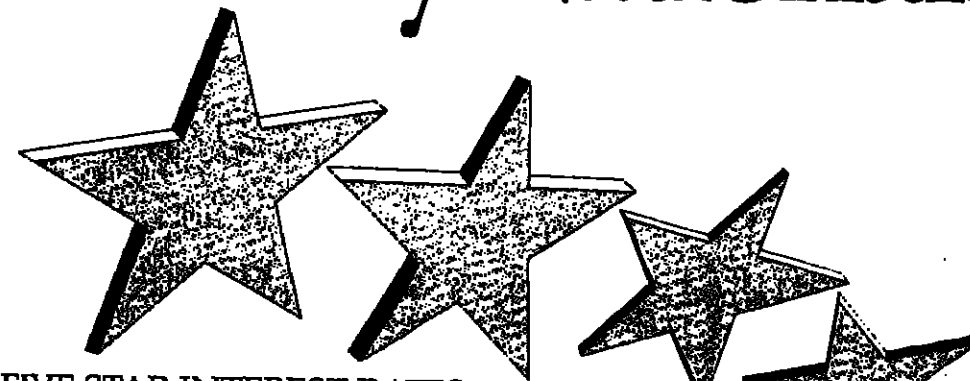
Its suppression shows that those who have brought it about and wish it to be believed that SDI will work know that they are lying and wish their lies to go undiscovered. It seems most probable that these forces are the British and American governments and their "security" services seeking to protect Mrs

Thatcher's fawning "special" relationship with President Reagan and of the profits of the American arms industry.

It was a truly democratic American, Walt Whitman in "The Song of the Broad Axe", who looked forward to the time when "the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons". May it come soon.

Mr. T. R. M. Creighton,
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Falklands war film that plays it straight

Some time ago I wrote a film about the experiences of Robert Lawrence, MC, in the Falklands and after. With him and others I have tried to have my screenplay made into a film, and at last the BBC has agreed to a production.

The screenplay, *Tumbledown*, was very carefully written with the full cooperation of Robert Lawrence and his family. I avoided any political stance, concentrating on the courage of Robert Lawrence in the Falklands, when recovering from his terrible wound, and not least when recounting his feelings honestly and accurately.

This carefully written film has in the past few days been labelled "anti-establishment" (Evening Standard, September 30) and the antithesis of the sentiments expressed by Ian Curteis, whose film drama about the Falklands has

been postponed by the BBC.

My own attitudes to war and to the Falklands conflict have been quoted as indicative of the attitude of the script. Nothing could be further from the truth, but I fear that *Tumbledown* will now bear another label apart from "left-wing" — subversive — anti-establishment" (Daily Mail, September 30); it will become "the film the BBC put on instead of the Curteis play, with all the obvious implications."

There is also in my opinion, a real danger that the BBC will cancel our film altogether to show its new broom "lack of bias," regardless of the fact that I have taken great pains to present a bias whatsoever.

Charles Wood,
The Manor House,
Milton, Oxfordshire.

Boycott: champion of the older man

I write with mixed feelings on hearing the news of Boycott's sacking. As a Lancastrian, I am delighted that he will no longer belabour our inadequate bowling. As an older man I'm sorry to see him dismissed at a mere 45.

From this distance, there appears to have been much "hedging" by the Yorkshire Committee on the reasons for sacking him. It can't be his performances in the middle — one or two England batsmen would envy his average for 1986.

It should not be on account of his alleged putting self before team, and other misdemeanours.

Daniloff mystery

From the Washington Post section of your issue of September 21.

About Daniloff: "But he is still the victim of a cynical and outrageous frame-up."

And: "By all accounts, the decision to have the FBI hand Zakharov a package of classified documents and then arrest him after three years of surveillance was handled as a routine matter." I think I'll stay non-aligned.

Martin Cregeen,
Ljubljana,
Yugoslavia.

No flies on Taiwan

So many country visits have been made a misery by flies. How well I understand Jill Tweedie's feelings about them.

If she really feels the need to get away from it all — and the flies, perhaps she could try Taiwan. After 10 months here, flies are very noticeable by their absence.

There just aren't any. It is never very cold nor really very hot as must be something else. Perhaps, they don't like the rain — or could it be the earthquakes.

Barbara M. Wilson,
Taipei, Taiwan.

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Tories commit themselves to more privatisation

NO ONE attending or listening to the Conservative Party conference last week could doubt that politics had entered a pre-election phase. The Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, might well joke that she would produce a manifesto "within 18 months," but that was at the end of a week in which election promises were unleashed by her Ministers at hourly intervals.

The Chancellor, Mr Nigel Lawson, promised to privatise most of what remains of the private sector and, of course, to cut taxes. The Education Secretary, Mr Kenneth Baker, undertook to build 20 inner-city technical schools and to restore choice to the state school system. Other Ministers committed themselves to privatising more local authority services, deregulating rented housing, and creating new development agencies to revive some of the worst areas of urban decay.

Labour had managed to end its conference the previous week looking like a more acceptable alternative government, but there have been few signs that the climate of public opinion has changed in its favour as it did in favour of the Tories before 1979. On the contrary, a Guardian-Markon poll suggested that Labour had slipped back by one point during the conference. At 39 points, its three-point lead over the Conservatives is the lowest for many months. The reason for Labour's failure to make headway, and for the Tories' gain at the expense of the Liberal-SDP Alliance, is almost certainly the opposition parties' unilateralist or neutralist stance on defence. This enabled Mrs Thatcher to appeal, in her wind-up speech, to patriots of all parties to support her as they did so generously after the Falklands war. (Report, page 4.) It also enabled her conference audience to set aside worries about four million unemployed, the incidence of poverty, and the dilapidation of the cities.

The promises advanced by Ministers, of new partnerships between public and private enterprise, were ones around which Tory wets and dries could unite. Thus Mr Baker's inner-city colleges would be state-funded and run outside local education authority control, but private sector sponsors would be encouraged to contribute to their capital and running costs.

The Housing Minister, Mr John Patten, would attack the housing shortage not by municipal building but by partially lifting the Rent Act controls which protect tenants in the private sector from their landlords. This, he reasoned, would bring on to the market a flood of new or refurbished property provided by a new breed of "registered" landlords such as building societies.

Mr Lawson promised to double share ownership, to sell most of the state's remaining industrial holdings, and to "eliminate" inflation. The choice he offered, he said, was between "a Britain with her head held high and a Britain with her hand held out." Though sterling remained under pressure on the foreign exchanges, the Chancellor chose to say nothing about the currency or about interest rates, which left the City more convinced than ever that base lending rates will eventually have to go up.

Millions of pounds' worth of instant profits were made by investors who bought shares in the Trustee Savings Bank for 50p and sold them on the first day of dealing at 101p. The issue was oversubscribed by about five times, but allocations — mainly of £300 or £400 — were made to about 3.15 million investors. Much of the money came from building societies, which calculated that savers had withdrawn £1.5 billion to buy the bank shares. Though the share price slowly drifted down to 85.5p, their holders were still left with a profit of 71 per cent.

A 27-year-old Irish teacher, Mr

Thomas Maguire, who was acquitted at the Old Bailey of conspiracy to cause explosions, claimed that he was "set up" by the Lancashire police Special Branch and his stepfather, Raymond O'Connor, who became a police informer. O'Connor, who was given immunity and will now disappear to live the rest of his life under a new identity, joins the growing list of accomplice informers whose evidence before a jury has been discredited.

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Mr Maguire was named on the indictment with Patrick Magee and Patrick Murray, neither of whom appeared in court. Magee is serving five life sentences for trying to kill members of the British Cabinet at the Grand Hotel in Brighton, and Murray is living in Dublin, from where there has been no attempt to extradite him. Though Maguire admitted to having contacts with Sinn Féin, there was no direct evidence against him of conspiring to blow up a Lancashire public house used by servicemen's families other than the word of O'Connor, who admitted working for the Special Branch.

Allegations of a Washington "disinformation campaign" against Libya (covered extensively in last week's issue) began to involve Britain when an unnamed diplomat and Government officials accused the State Department of producing unsupported reports about Colonel Gaddafi's terrorist intentions. The reports, according to one British official, referred to American personnel in Crete, and the US Ambassador in Malta as possible Libyan targets. There were also hints of unidentified targets in mainland Europe.

The British diplomat who saw the material said the Americans seemed to be poised for another military attack on Libya — after the raids on Tripoli and Benghazi in April — on very little evidence

crossed the wide yard toward the dragon-shaped platform on which the main ceremonial buildings of the Inner Court are located.

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The hectic day, as so often happens in China, left the honoured guest determined to smile but looking rather weary as she tackled the customary banquet in the evening, followed by an obligatory cultural performance.

In a speech, she said that the royal couple were looking forward to seeing something of China's modernisation, and to meeting some of the people behind its achievements. In her banquet speech the Queen acknowledged the importance attached by China to the Hong Kong agreement, saying that it had largely contributed to bringing Britain and China closer together than ever before.

between public and private enterprise, were ones around which Tory wets and dries could unite. Thus Mr Baker's inner-city colleges would be state-funded and run outside local education authority control, but private sector sponsors would be encouraged to contribute to their capital and running costs.

The Housing Minister, Mr John Patten, would attack the housing shortage not by municipal building but by partially lifting the Rent Act controls which protect tenants in the private sector from their landlords. This, he reasoned, would bring on to the market a flood of new or refurbished property provided by a new breed of "registered" landlords such as building societies.

Mr Lawson promised to double share ownership, to sell most of the state's remaining industrial holdings, and to "eliminate" inflation. The choice he offered, he said, was between "a Britain with her head held high and a Britain with her hand held out." Though sterling remained under pressure on the foreign exchanges, the Chancellor chose to say nothing about the currency or about interest rates, which left the City more convinced than ever that base lending rates will eventually have to go up.

Millions of pounds' worth of instant profits were made by investors who bought shares in the Trustee Savings Bank for 50p and sold them on the first day of dealing at 101p. The issue was oversubscribed by about five times, but allocations — mainly of £300 or £400 — were made to about 3.15 million investors. Much of the money came from building societies, which calculated that savers had withdrawn £1.5 billion to buy the bank shares. Though the share price slowly drifted down to 85.5p, their holders were still left with a profit of 71 per cent.

A 27-year-old Irish teacher, Mr

Thomas Maguire, who was acquitted at the Old Bailey of conspiracy to cause explosions, claimed that he was "set up" by the Lancashire police Special Branch and his stepfather, Raymond O'Connor, who became a police informer. O'Connor, who was given immunity and will now disappear to live the rest of his life under a new identity, joins the growing list of accomplice informers whose evidence before a jury has been discredited.

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of terrorist activity. "I was appalled and there was a row between the Foreign Office and the American State Department," he said.

The reports, which will doubtless be pursued in the Commons when Parliament resumes, posed a number of questions. Why, for instance, should the United States want to deceive Britain with exaggerated claims about Libyan intentions? And was Mrs Thatcher deceived by similar reports when she agreed to allow US planes to take off from British bases for their raid on the Libyan capital?



'Apparently it's an amazing working model of the future Hong Kong...'

Wedgwood taken over

WATERFORD GLASS confirmed that it had clinched a £263 million agreed takeover of potteries group Wedgwood after a hectic 48 hours of negotiation.

The Irish group is paying 555p a share for Wedgwood, compared with a 430p market price which had already risen strongly on hopes of a White Knight bid. There is a cash alternative of 504p a share.

The bid has seen off the threat from contraceptive manufacturers London International Group whose £160 million bid for Wedgwood was stalled by a Monopolies Inquiry. LIG has sold it near 10 per cent stake in Wedgwood to Waterford.

Wedgwood will be run as a separate company but Waterford said there would be savings from combining distribution and marketing costs and Waterford glass would be sold through the chain of Wedgwood rooms in department stores.

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Queen meets the real China

THE Queen met the real China on the first full day of her week-long visit when she was hemmed in by crowds in the Imperial Palace who were totally unaware of her identity but eager to see the show.

"Back behind the line," snarled the plain-clothes militia, snuffing on the marble steps with Chinese citizens and foreign photographers. The Queen did what every visitor to China should do in these circumstances. She kept going, past the Gate of Heavenly Purity through to the Hall of Mental Cultivation, smiling a little vaguely.

The day had started with the equally authentic Chinese experience of being talked to at great length by a senior official who is not used to two-way discourse.

President Li Kiannian may be 77 and falling in eyeline, but he was determined to dominate the welcoming chat in the Hebei room of the Great Hall of the People.

The visit, he said, was a glorious chapter in the annals of Sino-British relations. The Queen smiled, England, he said, was not unknown to the Chinese people, because it had been the cradle of the Industrial Revolution. The Queen said, "Yes".

Early in the warm afternoon, the Queen entered the Imperial Palace by the Meridian Gate and

By John Gittings in Peking

crossed the wide yard toward the dragon-shaped platform on which the main ceremonial buildings of the Inner Court are located.

In the old days, when the Emperor sacrificed at the Hall of Supreme Harmony, clouds of incense were lit on the terrace to simulate the swirling Clouds of Heaven where the Emperor was supposed to dwell.

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FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting Rates October 13	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.2444-2.2448	2.2378-2.2418
Canada	15.94-16.97	20.01-20.04
Denmark	58.90-59.01	58.13-58.24
France	1.9883-1.9911	1.9881-1.9888
Germany	10.55-10.70	10.74-10.75
Hong Kong	9.28-9.30	9.32-9.35
Italy	2.535-2.539	2.54-2.55
Japan	11.15-11.16	11.15-11.16
Netherlands	1.0433-1.0443	1.0431-1.0433
Norway	1.882-1.888	1.870-1.876
Portugal	225.90-221.27	221.94-221.41
Spain	3.204-3.208	3.21-3.22
Sweden	16.42-16.48	16.47-16.48
Switzerland	288.07-289.65	288.07-289.65
USA	188.08-188.38	188.73-189.00
West Germany	6.77-6.78	6.79-6.80
Yen	2.312-2.315	2.312-2.32
ECU	1.4330-1.4345	1.4330-1.4340
	1.3930-1.3947	1.3881-1.3889

FT 30 Share Index 1278.4 Gold \$458.25

THE Duke of Devonshire and the British Museum are having confidential discussions about the sale of several Old Master drawings by the duke to the museum. The duke wants to raise £2.5 million.

Nobody is saying what drawings are being offered to the nation, but a sale would bring tax benefits much more to him than his target.

There was controversy in 1984 when the duke made a similar offer to the museum involving 72 other Old Masters. The proposed deal collapsed when the museum offered £5.25 million — £250,000 less than the duke had asked for.

By Donald Wintressgill

The drawings later fetched £21 million at Christie's, and critics said that a great bargain had been missed. But prices at the auction were inflated by the glamour of the collection, which was formed in the early 18th century by the second duke and was almost intact. That is the kind of background to a collection which adds enormously to its value. The critics spoke with the benefit of hindsight.

The British Museum and conservation bodies, such as the National Heritage Memorial Fund, are scrambling to find the money for the duke's latest proposed sale.

Thatcher pins election hopes on defence

By James Naughtie

THE Prime Minister last week put her faith in defence as the issue on which to build a third Conservative government, and intensified the bitterness of her dispute with Labour over nuclear arms.

Mrs Thatcher brought her party conference in Bournemouth to a close with the assertion that only the Tories could defend Britain, and that Labour's policy would be "the greatest gain for the Soviet Union in 40 years," which it would win without firing a shot.

The rhetoric produced the predictable ovation after a short speech which, in other respects, was one of her thinnest for many years. Clearly, defence was to be the highlight and everything else secondary.

Labour had abandoned the common ground which had united British political parties on defence since world war two, she said. "Let there be no doubt about the gravity of that decision. You cannot be a loyal member of Nato while disavowing its fundamental strategy."

Mrs Thatcher said the Reykjavik meeting between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev was evidence that only the "strength and unity" of the West around a policy of nuclear deterrence had brought the Soviets to the negotiating table.

Mr Kinnock was not mentioned by name, but was accused of having killed "the Labour Party of Attlee, of Gaitskell, and of Wilson."

"There is only one party in this country with an effective policy for the defence of the realm and that party is the Conservative Party," Mrs Thatcher said.

Elsewhere in the 37-minute speech, which the audience of nearly 6,000 greeted with an ovation of more than nine minutes, Mrs Thatcher strove to present her policy of "popular capitalism" — increased share ownership, lower inflation, and wider property ownership — as a caring philosophy.

The Government had created a climate in which enterprise could flourish and in which jobs would be created, she said. "Popular capitalism is nothing less than a crusade to enfranchise the many in the economic life of the nation. We Conservatives are returning power to the people. That is the way to one nation, one people."

Her claim was that national pride had been restored by her policies. But the economic sections of her speech were conceived largely as responses to the criticisms which have most worried ministers and party managers. One section of the text was entitled, "Conservative care."

The stream of ministerial announcements last week, about new hospitals, schools, and job schemes, was presented as "The Next Move Forward" — the conference motto. Above all, it suggested the start of the general election campaign.

Although no clue to her intentions on timing emerged — only the teasing remark that a manifesto



to would be produced within 18 months — the opening of the speech and its peroration were calls to the faithful to prepare for battle on the hustings. "I believe the interest of Britain can now only be served by a third Conservative victory," she said.

Mrs Thatcher gave the Liberals and the Social Democrats only passing reference and presented the electorate with a clear choice, between her and Mr Kinnock.

Mrs Thatcher appealed directly to Labour supporters unhappy about the party's defence policy to turn to her. "I believe that this total reversal of Labour's policy for the defence of our country will have come as a shock to many of Labour's traditional supporters," she said.

She accused Mr Kinnock of planning to remove Britain from the protection of America's umbrella.

and of wanting "a neutralist Britain," a charge which Mr Kinnock vehemently denies.

Mrs Thatcher brushed aside Labour's commitment to a non-nuclear presence inside Nato. "You cannot deter, with conventional weapons, an enemy which has, and could threaten to use, nuclear weapons," she said.

Her principal defence theme was cast as another example of "Caring Conservatism," which she gave as her answer to critics both inside and outside the party. In a response to Mr Kinnock's claim to speak for a "moral majority" Mrs Thatcher defended her party against the accusation that it put materialism above moral values.

She said: "This charge is sometimes made that our policies are only concerned with money and efficiency. I am the first to acknowledge that morality is not and

never has been the monopoly of any one party. Nor do we claim that it is. But we do claim that it is the foundation of our policies."

Mr Kinnock responded furiously to Mrs Thatcher's speech. He said in a statement that Mrs Thatcher had failed to explain why, if Britain's nuclear weapons were so important, "they never seem to gain us a place at those conferences which decide our future."

The SDP leader, Dr David Owen, also rejected Mrs Thatcher's claim that only the Tories had a commitment to defend Britain. He said: "A commitment to the defence of the realm is not the monopoly of the Conservative Party. To pretend that the SDP does not share a bipartisan approach to the armed forces and to the security of this country is a travesty of the truth."

The murders in Leroux's morgue

WE have had some pretty grim experiences in musical theatre in recent years. We have seen people turned into roller-skating ciphers, dwarfed by laser-beams and sententious holograms and treated as pawns in political chess-games. But the cheering thing about The Phantom Of The Opera is that it puts spectacle (and there is plenty of it) to the service of an exciting story and in that music is used, in a Puccinesque way, to intensify a dramatic situation.

Andrew Lloyd Webber and Richard Stilgoe, responsible for the book, have had the shrewd idea of going back to Gaston Leroux's original 1911 novel. So we get a story that mixes horror and romance in equal proportions: horror that it is about the terrorisation of the Paris Opera House by an elusive phantom who causes multiple deaths when his demands are not met, romance in that it is a Beauty and the Beast myth about a disfigured hero who can only express his love for a soprano by becoming her musical inspiration.

It may be hokum but it is hokum here treated with hand on heart rather than tongue in cheek. And even if one misses some of Leroux's griller details, such as the final incarceration of the soprano's rescuer in a hexagonal, water-filled torture-chamber, the palpable sincerity means that there is never any danger of The Phantom Of The Opera becoming like the Marx Brothers' Night At The Opera.

We are made to care about the people (though Raoul, the romantic rescuer, seems a bit wimpy compared to the figure of purlined obstinacy Leroux created). But

much of the success of the evening lies in Lloyd Webber's ability to move from operatic pastiche to music full of plangent yearning.

Resisting the temptation to use lashings of Gounod, he gives us a mixture of Metro-Goldwyn Meyer-beer, cod-Mozart and, in the Phantom's own Don Juan opera, something that is 1860s avant-garde. Lloyd Webber's own prevailing style, however, is lush, romantic, string-filled; and, occasionally one schillingly passionate number threatens to merge into another, the effect is offset by the

comic jauntiness of Prima Donna or the pavane-like stateliness of Masquerade: with neat lyrics ("Masquerade-paper faces on parade") by Charles Hart.

This last number is one of many whose effect is heightened by the masterly direction of Harold Prince and designs by Maria Bjornson. The occasion is a New Year's Eve Masked Ball and the Opera House and a grand, sweeping staircase (Ms Bjornson is very fond of staircases) is filled with a kaleidoscopic harlequinade which suddenly parts to reveal the Phantom who has come as the Red Death. It is a powerful moment and it exemplifies the consistent delight in theatricality.

Prince and Bjornson throughout stress the sinister opulence of the Paris Opera with heavy, swagged curtains, bulging, gilt caryatids and, most spectacularly, a descent into the underworld via a tilting bridge that leads to a candle-filled

lake reminiscent of one of mad Ludwig's Bavarian castles. And if the famous chandelier's descent was slightly more exciting than its ultimate descent, that was because we all know that what goes up must come down.

But Prince has caught the feverish, nightmarish bustle of Leroux's Opera House without diminishing the people. Michael Crawford as the Phantom, above all, brings out the character's solitary pathos rather than his demonic horror; it is the humanity under the mask that seizes the attention, not least when his flickering, desperate hands suddenly emerge from behind an Angel of Music hovering over the lovers on the Opera House rooftop.

Sarah Brightman sings sweetly and prettily as Christine without suggesting she'd be the overnight toast of Paris. And even if Steve Barton can't do much with the underwritten Raoul, there is strong support from Rosemary Ashe as the displaced prima donna whose voice suddenly turns to a frog-croak and from John Savident as a comically officious Opera House manager.

In the end The Phantom works despite the odd blank stretch because it delights in the possibilities of theatre: from a vast prop elephant (operated by hyper-swilling stagehands) to the demagogic disappearance of its hero through the floor-surface. It is determinedly old-fashioned, but when the new fashion is for boy-meets-laser-beam, it is refreshing to find a musical that pins its faith in people, narrative and traditional illusion.

Government still backing S.Africa trade

By Richard Norton Taylor

THE Government is actively continuing to promote British investment in South Africa, with the Department of Trade and the Foreign Office offering a wide range of assistance to companies in an attempt to boost their exports to the country.

In separate initiatives, an official from the British embassy in Pretoria is in Britain offering companies "help and advice," and the Department of Trade and Industry has told engineering companies that they can count on its help when they visit South Africa at the beginning of next month.

Whitehall is taking care not to contravene the letter of the agreement restricting the promotion of government-funded trade missions to South Africa accepted by all Commonwealth prime ministers in Nassau last October. But the Government's decision to continue in all other ways vigorously to encourage commercial ties with South Africa was described by a Commonwealth spokesman last week as "profoundly disappointing."

In a letter to the Engineering Industries Association — which is planning a mission to South Africa starting on November 1 — the Department of Trade describes the mission as "unsupported." But it says that the British Overseas Trade Board (BOTB) remains free to provide assistance "for business visitors to the (South African) market whether they go as individuals or as members of a group."

The British embassy in Pretoria, it adds, "will be pleased to give any assistance they can to enable the mission to be a success."

At the Nassau meeting, all Commonwealth countries agreed to stop government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs there. But at the meeting of six Commonwealth prime ministers in London in August, Mrs Thatcher was alone in refusing to go further by agreeing to "the termination of all government assistance to investment in and trade with South Africa."

Water privatisation off

By David Hencke

THE Government has decided not to reopen the controversial question of water privatisation in the next parliamentary session.

The option of including a new paving bill to prepare for privatisation without floating the water authorities on the stock market has been abandoned until the next general election.

Mr Nicholas Ridley, the Environment Secretary, suddenly postponed plans in July to sell off the £7 billion water industry before an election when it became clear that the 120 clause bill allowing the sale to proceed could not be completed in time. But he was still determined to proceed as fast as possible.

Ministers had become bogged down in detailed negotiations with the water authorities over many issues, including separating land and drainage from the

responsibility of the privatised companies; sorting pricing formulae; protecting the environment; and the financial problems of transferring an index-linked pension scheme for the water authority employees to the private sector.

Now it has become clear that the water authorities that further negotiations — plus the question of a foolproof formulae to cover the legal ownership of the 10 authorities and their powers to prepare to privatise — will not take place until the spring.

The last point is important since the Government does not want to become embroiled in a legal argument which delayed the flotation of the Trustee Savings Bank until this year. This has effectively ruled out the option of bringing in a paving bill in the new session of Parliament through lack of time.

Love in the valley

By Martin Wainwright

AN undercover attempt to bring romance into the bus timetables of South Wales ended last week in a two-month gales sententious. Travelers who wondered why buses in the region showed an unusual turn of speed earlier this year learned the answer at Blackwood magistrates' court in Gwent.

Before the bench was Mr Tim Worel, aged 27, referred to during the hearing as "a public pest" but actually a man who might have inspired Andrew Marvell to verse. The magistrates heard that Mr Worel's ardent wooing of his coy mistress — or rather, girlfriend Tracey — had been threatened by bus connection times.

The pathos of the situation was worsened by the fact that Mr Worel, of Cefn Fforest, Gwent, was a timetable clerk for the Welsh Bus Company himself, forced to work with the very figures which mucked up his efforts to meet Tracey. His answer was simple but successful: he encouraged bus drivers he knew to speed up.

"Because he was on good terms with many of the drivers, they would be persuaded to go faster, to be ahead of schedule," said Mr Mark Powell, defending. The strategem worked well until a bad fairy — or rather, an understandably irritated inspector — discov-

ered what was going on.

Conscious that the Welsh Bus Company might get a bad name if its evening services flew past stops while people were only half-way to them, Mr Richie Young, aged 46, cracked down. Mr Worel was given a warning and the practice was stopped. But thwarted lovers can do more than pine.

"Something of a feud developed between Mr Worel and the inspector," said Mr Powell. "Mr Worel thought it was incumbent on him to extract revenge."

As a result, seven tons of manure, three tons of anthracite, a lorry-load of ready-mixed cement, a gas leak emergency team, an undertaker, a scrap merchant, and people replying to an advertisement offering Mr Young's car for sale arrived at the inspector's home in Cwmearn, Gwent.

Mr Worel, who was described by Mr Powell as a man with a bizarre nature but who was also extremely intelligent, admitted five charges of carrying out boxes by deception and a sixth of making an annoying telephone call. He was given six concurrent sentences of two months by the magistrates; chairman, Mr John Jones, who described him as "extremely foolish."

OBITUARIES

Ashley Courtenay dies travelling

By Andrew Moncur

ASHLEY COURTENAY, whose tea-time halt at a thatched-and-honeysuckle cottage in Sussex inspired the guide books that became an English institution, has finally ended his travels. The pioneer of the individual hotel guide died exactly as he would have wished — aboard a cruise liner, on a wave of strawberries and champagne. He was aged 98; his publication is in its 54th year. Within hours of his death, from heart failure, his 72-year-old wife, Nancy, was found dead in her bed in their first class cabin on the Cunard liner Vistaford.

The couple had been married for over 30 years. They had earlier worked together, as guide publisher and secretary, for 10 years. "They were a wonderful couple and devoted to one another. We feel there is a certain charm in these two totally devoted people going together," Mr Peter Fuller, managing director of the publishing company, said.

Mr Courtenay, described as "one of the last of the fading breed of English gentlemen," had once spoken of his notion of the perfect retirement: cruising on the Vistaford.

He began his career in the rougher waters of advertising, ex-tolling, among other things, in the advertisement columns of the Manchester Guardian, the virtues of trips. His brightest idea came with the expansion of the motoring

age. Driving in Sussex one hot afternoon, he came across the cottage serving teas. "As I walked in the old world orchard to be served, it occurred to me that places like this should be better known," he would later recall. The first slim issue of his guide, Let's Halt Awhile, appeared in 1934, offering recommendations in

a personal style about where to eat and sleep in Sussex and Kent. It was the forerunner of the present 700-page Ashley Courtenay Hotel Guide.

The guide will continue to appear in his name and the Ashley Courtenay company will carry on its business on the pattern he laid down. He never really retired and remained life chairman and an adviser to the company.

Jacuzzi of the jacuzzi

By Christopher Reed in San Francisco

THERE was a moment's silence in the tumbling waters of millions of hot tubs in California and the rest of the world last week as their occupants heard of the death in Arizona of Candido Jacuzzi at the age of 83.

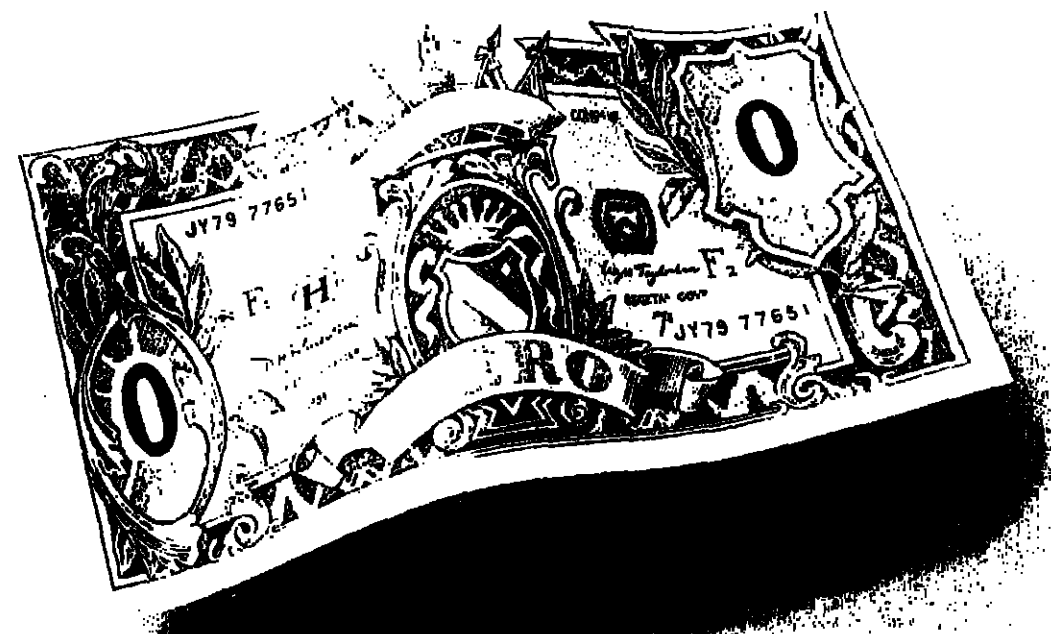
He gave his name to a method of relaxation and leisure which created an industry and a cult in the late sixties. It is still hugely popular today as standard equipment in many middle-class homes, known generically as "the Jacuzzi."

Few realise that Candido, youngest of seven Italian immigrant brothers and six sisters who arrived in America early this century, did not actually invent the bath as we know it today. What he made was a portable pump looking rather like a miniature R2D2 robot from Star Wars. Already a

successful engineer and inventor, mainly in the aviation world, Candido developed the pump in 1942 for his 15-month-old son Kenneth, who had been stricken by rheumatoid arthritis.

Until then, sufferers from arthritis and related afflictions had to visit large communal hospital tubs to receive the beneficial effects of the swirling, bubbling water. Candido Jacuzzi's pump, which could be used in the home bath tub, filled an important need of domestic therapy.

It was not until 1968 that a third generation member of the Jacuzzi family, Roy, recognised the commercial possibilities of a whirlpool bath. He removed the pump and fixed it to the outer walls, forcing the water and air through four jets. The modern Jacuzzi was born.



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WASHINGTON	Hotel Washington	October 22, 23
MINNEAPOLIS	North Star Hotel	October 24, 25, 26, 27
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THE WEEK Reagan faces storm over lost deal

A BEVERE earthquake, measuring 7.5 on the Richter scale, devastated El Salvador's capital, San Salvador, on Friday. The official death toll has risen to 800, with around 1,200 injured and between 150,000 and 200,000 of San Salvador's population of one million rendered homeless. Relief teams from abroad, equipped to set up mobile hospitals, have been arriving since the earthquake.

SHORTLY before the start of the Iceland summit, the Soviet authorities released from prison in Kiev the poet Ilya Rutshukovsky. Mr Rutshukovsky was serving a seven-year sentence to be followed by five years' internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

With her husband, Igor Gerasimchenko, she applied to emigrate in 1979 and she was subsequently involved in protests about the treatment of Andrei Sakharov and of the free Polish trade union, Solidarity.

The harsh regime in prison is thought to be responsible for her present poor health. The authorities gave no reason for her release, nor is it known if she will be allowed to emigrate.

PRESIDENT François Mitterrand of France, who will be 70 this month, said on Monday he was disinclined to run again for the Presidency when his mandate expires in 1995.

His remarks took commentators by surprise, but his inclination to stand down is not regarded as irrevocable.

SOUTH AFRICA struck a heavy economic blow against Mozambique by serving notices that the permits of Mozambican workers already in South Africa will not be renewed when their expiry dates arrive.

The move was retaliation for a land mine explosion near the Mozambique border in which six South African soldiers were injured.

In a move directed at the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, the Pretoria Government declared it an "affected organisation", thus forbidding it from receiving money from abroad which it makes up more than half its income. With just a couple of exceptions, the UDF's entire 15-member national executive is in detention or in hiding.

MORE than 200,000 demonstrators protested against cruise missiles at Hasebach, south-west of Bonn, at the weekend. It was West Germany's biggest peace rally for two years.

Meanwhile, the terrorist group the Red Army Faction claimed responsibility for the murder of Mr Gerold von Braunmühl, a close aide of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Mr Von Braunmühl, an expert on Nato, was shot dead outside his home in Bonn.

TWO chartered aircraft left Khartoum at the weekend for the southern town of Juba and later to Zaine to start a delayed airlift of relief supplies for hungry people in south Sudan. Relief agencies say up to two million people face starvation as a result of drought and civil war.

SECRET negotiations led to the exchange of three members of a Libyan hit-squad held in Italy and four Italians freed in Libya, Italy's Foreign Ministry said last week.

Italy had been pressing for some time for the release of the Italians on the grounds of ill health. A breakthrough came when Rome agreed to pardon the three Libyans who had been accused as members of a murder squad sent to Italy from Libya.

LESS than 48 hours before the Bangladesh presidential election, the military regime rounded up about 2,000 opposition activists who have been campaigning for a boycott of the polls. The two main opposition leaders, Mrs Khaleda Zia and Mrs Hasina Wazed, were placed under police surveillance.

INDONESIA last week publicly confirmed that it has executed nine Communists from the 1960s. A military spokesman was quoted in Jakarta newspapers as saying that nine men had been executed "recently". No dates were given. The nine were named as Spri, Bono, Suparno, Amir Hanafiah, Abdullah Alhadi, Wilroy Al-madjo, Kamil, Tarmuzi Hidayat, and Sudiono. They had been in prison since the late 1950s and early 1970s and were alleged to have taken part in an abortive coup in 1965.

TWO scientists share the 1986 Nobel Prize for medicine for their work in the field of tissue generation. Stanley Cohen, professor of biochemistry at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and Rita Levi-Montalcini, who works at the Institute of Cell Biology in Rome, jointly won the two million crowns (\$260,000) which goes with the prize.

THE New York Times editor, Mr A. M. Rosenzweig, is leaving his job next month and will be succeeded by Mr Max Frankel, who is now its editor-at-large.

PRESIDENT REAGAN faced a rising chorus of criticism at home and abroad after his refusal in Iceland to trade his Star Wars pipe dream of spacebased defence for unprecedented Soviet concessions that would have dramatically reduced the bloated nuclear stockpiles of both superpowers.

The President stands accused of letting his personal obsession with a technically fantastic and militarily destabilising vision, launched as his Strategic Defence Initiative in 1983, obstruct an historic opportunity. But, far from wavering, Mr Reagan remains convinced that he is right — and that Mr Gorbachev's weekend concessions are themselves a vindication of his refusal to use Star Wars as a mere bargaining chip.

With senior American and Russian emissaries busy justifying their own positions after the collapse of the Reykjavik summit, the central question was whether mutual rearmament and disappointment would derail further prospects for arms control for the foreseeable future, or, as Mr Reagan's beleaguered advocates maintained, prove only a brief obstacle to the consolidation of what the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, told Nato allies were "the many achievements of Reykjavik".

Soviet public utterances, ranging from criticism of US "unrealism" to hopes of "second thoughts", gave credence to both views. Republican loyalists and hawkish conservatives who had criticised him for agreeing to a hastily convened pre-summit congratulatory dinner for narrowly escaping a Soviet trap designed to cripple Star Wars. "He dodged a bullet," said the former Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig.

Though loyal conservative governments in Europe, including Mrs Thatcher's, stilled their doubts about the political cost they may pay at home for the President's burch, Mr Reagan himself faces almost immediate retribution of a similar kind if he has misjudged the American public mood. Some Democrats were predicting that Reykjavik could cost the Republi-

cans their 53-47 control of the Senate in the November 4 midterm elections.

Senator Gary Hart, frontrunner for the Democratic nomination in 1988, led the attack. Accusing Administration spokesmen of being two-faced about using Star Wars as a bargaining chip — something Mr Reagan himself has never done — he said it vindicated the critics' fears. "Many of us have argued that an unreasonable attachment to a speculative space-based defensive system would come to block real progress towards arms control. This has apparently transpired," he said.

Significantly, he was joined by Senator Sam Nunn, the Democrats' leading authority on defence matters and a paid-up "moderate". The hawks are purporting to be disappointed that the President

By Michael White
In Washington

would go as far as offering to postpone SDI deployment for 10 years as part of the abortive deal. The doves see such talk as covering up Mr Reagan's real function in the eyes of hawks like the Assistant Defence Secretary, Richard Perle, in "sabotaging arms control".

Acknowledgement came from both sides that Mr Gorbachev has succeeded in isolating SDI as the villain of the piece. "The Russians' Reykjavik package might have dislodged US from Star Wars. But if we were not going to buy it they had nothing to lose," one said gloomily.

There were predictions that Congress's already waning enthusiasm for the multi-billion dollar research programme may collapse now that the idea of using it as a bargaining chip with Moscow has been convincingly disavowed inside the Hoft municipal guest house.

As Mr Gorbachev despatched key aides, led by Victor Karpov, his chief negotiator at the Geneva talks, to Nato capitals — thus matching US practice in Europe, Asia and Australia — he may well be banking on public opinion around the world, including Mr

Reagan's own, to reinforce Congress's pressing financial problems. The Pentagon budget deal cut on the eve of Reykjavik included a reduction in his 1987 Star Wars budget from \$5.3 billion to below \$3.6 billion.

Although Moscow's renewed emphasis on "linkage" between SDI, strategic weapons and even Euro-missiles represents a step backwards in Iceland, some critics claimed to detect the possibility of compromise even on Star Wars, if the political will exists on both sides. Mr Gorbachev's efforts to confine Star Wars experiments to the laboratory might be relaxed, while Mr Reagan's eagerness to permit anything by way of research and testing short of actual deployment might be reined in.

In terms of arms control theory, it was the fate of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, on which such interpretations hang, which derailed the Reykjavik talks. Washington claims that Moscow wanted to narrow what it already regards as an unduly narrow interpretation of ABM restrictions. Moscow, supported by many Americans who actually negotiated that treaty, says the US is bent on a "broad" permissive interpretation. The full story is yet to emerge.

Neither side has openly accused the other of bad faith even though Mr Gorbachev characterised as "madness" any notion of accepting the last-minute Reagan offer, a phasing-out of all offensive ballistic missiles in return for a 10-year pause on Star Wars deployment.

Mr Reagan's willingness to risk an Iceland pre-summit in the wake of the Daniloff affair if it would produce a date for the full summit was regarded as a setback for the hawks like the Defence Secretary, Mr Casper Weinberger, and a success for more conciliatory figures like Mr Shultz. He is suspected of private scepticism about the inviolability of SDI.

On Monday US officials buried their differences in a concerted attempt to talk up Reykjavik as "President Reagan's finest hour." Such differences may surface again quickly.

What might have been

BEFORE the Reykjavik summit broke down, Soviet and American officials had reached a series of tentative agreements on ways to reduce arms and verify accords. They included:

- **Intercontinental Strategic Weapons:** The two sides backed roughly 50 percent reductions to reach the following levels: 1,600 intercontinental delivery vehicles (missiles and bombers combined) for each side, versus 1,971 in the current US arsenal and 2,504 in the Soviet arsenal. The 1,600 weapons would be allowed to carry 6,000 warheads on land-based and submarine-based missiles, cruise missiles and bombers. In addition, the Soviets agreed to a "significant cut" in the number of "heavy" SS-18 missiles, the biggest strategic weapon, of which they have 308. The United States has no heavy missiles deployed. The United States agreed for the first time to include bombers within the 1,600 limit, and to a formula for counting loaded bombers in the warhead category. Both sides agreed to pursue additional sublimits in the Geneva negotiations.

- **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF):** Both sides agreed to reduce the number of European-based intermediate-range weapons to zero. This agreement would have allowed the Soviets to keep 100 warheads on similar missiles in Asia while allowing the US to maintain an intermediate-range missile force carrying 100 warheads in the United States. At present the United States has deployed 108 Pershing II missiles and 144 ground-launched cruise missiles in Western Europe, carrying 282 warheads. The Soviet Union has deployed 112 SS-4s facing Europe and 441 SS-20s, roughly two-thirds of which face Europe, carrying 894 warheads. The remaining one-third SS-20s are in the Soviet Far East. No agreement was worked out on how to verify compliance. The US side said it wanted to agree on a "data base" (numbers of weapons in this category at the outset), then to have on-site inspection of the weapons' destruction, plus on-site inspection of factories that produce medium-range missiles. Both sides agreed to freeze shorter-range ballistic missiles stationed in Europe at current levels, and to begin negotiations on their reduction once a long-term INF agreement is signed. The Americans have 73 shorter-range ballistic missiles, the Soviets have between 698 and 740.

- **Testing of Nuclear Weapons:** The Soviets accepted the US position that instead of an immediate, total ban on nuclear tests, the two should negotiate first to establish verification procedures, then to reduce the number of tests and finally to end all testing after both sides have eliminated nuclear weapons. Provisions for verifying testing limits were not discussed in detail. The Soviet Union has continued a moratorium on underground nuclear tests for the past 14 months, and sought a permanent ban. The United States has continued testing.

Counting cost

Continued from page 1

being optimistic. In the meantime he is bound by the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and moreover Shultz has told the Europeans that he is bound by the narrow interpretation of that treaty. That in itself imposes limits on testing.

The least bad interpretation is that because it was swiftly called and sketched prepared Reykjavik did not have the necessary head of steam to set the arms control machine in motion. There should indeed have been a hint of that when people stayed up all night exchanging drafts and ideas which should have been settled long beforehand. That's not the way they work in Geneva, and the sudden impulse to short-circuit Geneva, to cut through the sterility of slow bargaining, was misconceived. If this is correct, then Reykjavik, though it has postponed a summit proper and knocked back burgeoning ideas of

PRESIDENT REAGAN said on Monday night that the United States is "ready to pick up where we left off" in the collapsed Iceland summit talks with Mr Gorbachev, but in a nationally televised address stressed he would stand firm on the Strategic Defence Initiative.

"I told him I had pledged to the American people that I would not trade away SDI — there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction," he said.

"I explained that even though we would have done away with our offensive ballistic missiles, having the defense would protect against cheating or the possibility of a madman sometime deciding to create nuclear missiles."

The general secretary wanted working that, in effect, would have kept us from developing SDI for the entire 10 years. In effect, he was killing SDI and unless I agreed, all that work toward eliminating nuclear weapons would go down the drain — canceled.

"SDI is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. SDI is America's security guarantee, if the Soviets should — as they have done too often in the past — fail to comply with their solemn commitments. SDI is what brought the Soviets back to the arms control talks at Geneva and Iceland. SDI is the key to a world without nuclear weapons. The Soviets understand this."

detente like so much bread-dough in a basin, is less than a catastrophe. It will have shown both sides that there are areas of potential agreement. It will arguably have strengthened the case of those who regard SDI as a mare's nest.

To be sure, there are influential people in America who would like nothing better than to see the Soviet economy ground down in a waste of weaponry. There are old-time Kremliners who cannot adjust to the sort of world, perhaps even society, which Gorbachev appears to want. On the face of things they look like Reykjavik's beneficiaries. But possibly not for long. If Reykjavik had been better prepared and still failed there would be more cause for worry now. But it wasn't, and both sides agree there's another day. When that day comes, we must hope that Mr Gorbachev's passion for the permutations of the arms control business remains intact — and that the American act has, finally, come together. There is no immediate reason to despair: but yet again we have only might-have-beens and manifest dissent amongst those who seek to programme their President.

EVERYTHING about Hoft House was small and modest — except for the historic deal on nuclear arms cuts, the "fabulous package" that was almost within grasp, only to slip away as President Reagan clung to his futuristic dream of perfect space shields.

The Hoft, a small white clapboard house, with views to the sea, would have been a cosy enough venue for another one of those freestyle chats, where President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev could have picked up where they left off in Geneva — perhaps closing the remaining gaps on the interim agreement on medium range missiles, which the Americans assumed would be enough to entice the Soviet leader to Washington.

But the superpower weekend turned out to be a far from modest affair. Boxed into the overcrowded small house, the arms control experts from both countries were upstairs, negotiating for amazingly high stakes, and during Saturday night succeeding in sweeping away the accumulated cobwebs of years of formalistic negotiations in Geneva, Washington and Moscow.

Mr Paul Nitze's fabled walk in the woods in 1982 — the last time US and Soviet negotiators attempted a short cut to an ambitious arms agreement — pales almost into insignificance compared to what could have come out of the Hoft House.

Mr Nitze was present again; this time unfortunately not on his own, but flanked by Mr Richard Perle, Mr Ken Adelman and General Rowley, a trio that was bound to suspect and resist the Soviet leader's proposals, and which knows how to play on President Reagan's Star Wars vision. Mr Perle, the clever, disarmingly charming, Under-Secretary of Defence, at one point even moved some of his aides into a bathroom at Hoft House and spread a map across the bath to work out the US response to cut back strategic nuclear arms by 50 per cent during the next five years.

The two leaders themselves remained downstairs during their eleven and a half hours of what Mr Gorbachev is describing as "debates that became very pointed in their last stage." They faced each other across a small square table, flanked by their interpreters, their note takers and, for most of the

time, by their foreign ministers. They really had to huddle; and not only because the atmosphere became continuously more frosty.

It had begun in a deceptively friendly way. On Saturday morning, during their first session, the two leaders were on their own for just over an hour, with an unsuspecting Mr Reagan unfolding his ideas on linking a missile defence system — SDI — with a phased elimination of ballistic missiles.

As it emerged later, the Americans had grossly miscalculated Soviet resistance to the Strategic Defence Initiative. The Russians had been less strident about SDI in the past few months, and the

By Hella Pick

President must have been persuaded that the issue could be glossed over, at least until the Washington summit, and after the hoped-for interim agreement on medium range missiles had been notched up as a major plus in the superpower relationship. Mr Gorbachev, during that first Saturday session, did little to dissuade Mr Reagan. Instead of railing against SDI, he startled President Reagan by reverting to a proposal to cut strategic nuclear weapons by 50 per cent during the next five years, and eliminate them altogether over 10 years.

Mr Gorbachev, during his magisterial press conference after the collapse of the summit, traced how the Soviet Union moved from one previously unhopful concession to the next. Some of it occurred while the experts met, with the Soviet chief-of-staff, Marshal Akromeyev, leading the Russian group; some of it transpired directly between the two leaders.

"We believe the world wanted bold decisions," Mr Gorbachev said. So, on strategic arms, he offered not only 50 per cent reductions; but also accepted a demand which the US had posed, in vain for many years: namely to halve each part of the "Triad", the land-based ICBM's submarine-based strategic missiles, and air-based missiles.

"The US agreed — so we had an accord," Mr Gorbachev claimed. When they turned to INF, the Russians also radically shifted their positions, making conces-

sions, which they had always resisted in the past. Mr Gorbachev began by proposing the elimination of all US and Soviet medium range nuclear missiles in Europe. According to the Soviet leader, Mr Reagan stalled and said he preferred an interim solution that would leave some medium range nuclear missiles on both sides in Europe, and allow the US to retain some SS20s in Asia.

"We replied," Mr Gorbachev disclosed, that "Mr President, you are abandoning your own child," a reminder that the US had originally pressed for the "zero-zero" solution.

During Saturday night, the experts failed to resolve their differ-

ences over INF. But to the Americans' surprise, on Sunday morning Mr Gorbachev agreed to cut down SS20s in Asia to leave no more than 100 warheads, to freeze short-range nuclear missiles in Europe and enter into negotiations to reduce them, and to set aside all demands that Britain and France limit their independent nuclear deterrents.

On the strength of those concessions, the Americans said they would accept the elimination of all Cruise, Pershing II and SS20 missiles in Europe. The cheerfulness of the US delegation waned through the news black-out that both sides had agreed for the duration of the summit. The Russians seemed ready for a "breath-taking deal." They were even offering concessions on verification which the US had long sought, and discussing a more graduated approach towards an eventual comprehensive test ban.

But by lunch-time on Sunday, when it emerged that Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev would extend their talks, the atmosphere had soured. Mr Gorbachev had shot his bolt. Everything he was offering was conditional on a US commitment not to test, let alone deploy, space weapons for at least 10 years, when the issue could be reopened. President Reagan came back on Sunday afternoon, offering to go part of the way by accepting Mr Gorbachev's proposal for a binding undertaking to maintain the 1972 ABM treaty for 10 years.

This was not enough. The Soviet

leader wanted, once and for all, to nail President Reagan down to the "narrow" interpretation of the ABM treaty, which would not permit any experiments in the new space technologies, outside the laboratory. But President Reagan has opted for the "wide" interpretation of the treaty, which claims that full-scale development and testing of space weapons is legally permissible. This interpretation of the treaty is denied by the US officials who drafted and negotiated it; and it was widely assumed, until this weekend, that the US Secretary of State, Mr Shultz, also had misgivings.

Apparently he has now set these aside, and is backing the President to the hilt. "They wanted me to assent to a burial ceremony for the ABM treaty," Mr Gorbachev claimed.

After almost four hours of bitter confrontation between President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev, they gave up. The President and Mr Shultz admitted they were tired, and had no stamina left to go on fighting about "one word — laboratory-testing." As they emerged into the dark night, Mr Reagan told the Soviet leader: "I am disappointed that from the very beginning you had come to Reykjavik with no willingness to reach agreement."

Mr Gorbachev recounted this remark at his press conference, admitting that he was "still reeling" from his experiences of the past two days. But he, unlike the American leaders, showed no signs of fatigue; displayed an agile mind and full command of his subject, and was careful to close no doors on future US-Soviet negotiations. He declined an invitation from a US journalist to criticise the President directly. The nearest he came was to assert that the President had not really seemed in full command: "I saw what happened when he consulted with his officials. . . he is not free to take his own decisions."

How much or how little will be salvaged from Reykjavik? Is the shock so great that it will take at least until the next US Administration to recover? Or is the shock so great that both superpowers will now find the way to the "historic leap forward" which Mr Gorbachev perhaps offered prematurely this weekend?

By David Fairhall

Paying the price for hypocrisy on SDI

ALL the Western politicians, diplomats and scientists who have suppressed their conviction that President Reagan's Star Wars programme is unworkable, in the cause of Nato solidarity and research contracts, must now be calculating the cost of their hypocrisy in lost arms control agreements.

It was on Star Wars that the Reykjavik summit failed, having made quite astonishing progress in all the other major areas under negotiation. The focus of the analysis, is bound to be why both leaders refused to compromise on this issue having found so much common ground elsewhere.

The sticking point seems to have been Mr Gorbachev's insistence that new strategic defences against nuclear ballistic missiles must not be tested outside the laboratory and the Reagan team's assertion that this would represent an unacceptable change in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty by which both sides still claim to be bound.

Article V of the treaty bans the "development, testing or deployment" of such weapons in space. But last year the US Administration argued that this was never

reverted to a broad interpretation to which the Soviet Union objected. "That was not the issue," he said. "The issue was a proposal to change the ABM treaty, not to interpret it in any particular way, but to change it in such a manner that research would be confined to what you could do in a laboratory."

Whether it should be described as a reinterpretation or a change, this was the restraint the American side could not accept.

There are several factors that help to explain this US reaction. Firstly, their awareness that the multi-billion-dollar Star Wars programme is now up and running in

research and development establishments all over the US — including underground nuclear X-ray laser tests in Nevada — and to a lesser extent in Europe; secondly, the President's personal belief that somewhere in the future defence must offer more security than the threat of mutually assured destruction and perhaps a general uneasy feeling among the US team that they must get back

to Washington and think it through again before accepting the spectacular Soviet proposals.

Whatever the reasons, we can rely on Congress and the US news media to analyse it in depth. The factors in Mr Gorbachev's calculation, on the other hand, will remain for us more speculative.

Tactically, the Soviet leader may believe he has time on his side. Mr Reagan is elderly, nearing the end of his Presidency and the Strategic Defence Initiative was largely his personal initiative.

It took many members of the Administration by surprise and was widely criticised from the

outset as either unworkable or misconceived. Some of those who publicly supported the idea did so because they assumed the original ambitious concept would soon be watered down to a conventional, but much more efficiently computerised, ABM system, and meanwhile they appreciated the research contracts.

All this may suggest to Mr Gorbachev that if he bides his time he will eventually get his no-testing commitment, from a future President if not before, meanwhile his own military establishment has always shared Mr Reagan's belief that strategic defence has a role to play in national security. Unlike the Americans, the Soviet Union went ahead with the limited anti-ballistic defence which the ABM treaty allows them to erect round Moscow.

Mr Gorbachev may calculate that his own star warriors would be only too eager to engage in an exhausting, potentially destabilising new form of arms race — one they could hardly expect to win and which would divert high-tech resources he would sooner see applied elsewhere.

Why Mr Reagan misread the signs in the Senate

It was one of the more extraordinary scenes in Senate history. In the crowded gallery the members of the Congressional Black Caucus hugged, embraced and smiled joyously as the Republican-controlled Senate overwhelmingly rejected President Reagan's thinly-disguised policy of "constructive engagement" with the white laager and crushed his veto on sanctions.

For the Congressional Black Caucus, whose members are generally on the left of the Democratic Party, this was their finest hour. Less than 25 years after the great civil rights battles of the 1960s it had demonstrated that like other American groups Blacks also have the ability to put their stamp on foreign policy. "How 21 people out of 535 on Capitol Hill turned the rest around should be a model of how we should work," remarked Congressman John Conyers, one of the jubilant group of legislators.

President Reagan's mistake was that he failed to recognise that Blacks, like other ethnic groups from the Irish to Cuban Americans and the Jewish lobby, have a strong foreign policy identification. In the same way as the Jewish lobby has organised a never-ending stream of financial and military aid to Israel and has quashed many an arms order to the Arabs, so the Blacks have identified with the cause of the frontline states and abhorred the policies of Pretoria.

This ethnic identification with the spiritual homeland is deeply embedded in the US's diplomatic traditions. At the time of the Crimean War in 1854 the British could not understand why the US refused to declare itself on the

Allied side. At the time, however, the United States was in the grip of a period of strong Anglophobia generated by the hordes of Irish immigrants making their way in politics. Similarly, the US's reluctant entry into the first world war was largely based on sensitivities towards the large block of ethnic Germans who had settled much of the midwest of the country.

This year alone Mr Reagan has fought and won two foreign policy battles in which he found himself arrayed against ethnic interests. In the case of the sale of advanced missiles to Saudi Arabia the President made the issue a matter of personal prestige and overcame the opposition of the pro-Israel factions by sealing the package down to the point that he could just sustain the veto.

Similarly, when Mrs Thatcher decided to make the Anglo-American extradition treaty an issue of principle Mr Reagan overcame his initial wariness and won the necessary two-thirds majority. On both occasions Mr Reagan was able to enlist the aid of chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Richard Lugar, who did the donkey work.

When it came to South Africa Mr Reagan badly underestimated the strength of ethnic identity and failed to pull the levers which had saved him embarrassment in the past. Historically, the President has had little interest in African affairs. He used to say that in many African countries, "When they had you for dinner, they had you for dinner." His only speech on the subject, since taking office, was his disastrous July 21 White House speech — when he echoed

Pretoria's own arguments to the point of suggesting the African National Congress was a Communist front. In so doing he gave the pro-sanctions lobby the weapon they had been looking for.

The White House efforts to head-off South African sanctions were pathetically conceived. The best it could come up with was the idea of a Black ambassador who would provide a demonstration of what American civil rights could produce. This proved a mistake: the first selection of North Carolina businessman Robert Brown fell by the wayside of some disclosures

By Alex Brummer
in Washington

of rather disquieting business dealings, while the second choice, Terence Todman, an experienced diplomat, took a Jesse Jackson view of the job and argued it was the message, not the messenger which was important. By the time that Mr Edward Perkins's nomination came before the Senate and was approved last week, the game was up and this patronising process had become his farce.

The Administration's misreading of Black ethnic power, including the crass comments of White House Chief-of-Staff Donald Regan about American women being parted from their diamonds, has left US policy towards Southern Africa in disarray. The improved ties with the frontline states cultivated by Ambassador Andrew Young during the early

Carter years have been destroyed and now the Senate has effectively cut off Washington's lines to Pretoria. All this comes when the Washington political machine — which always finds it hard to deal with more than one foreign policy arena at a time — has become totally preoccupied with East-West relations.

Although the President has promised to enforce the sanctions, as applied by Congress, his instincts run in the opposite direction. Even though there are hints in the South African press and here of an early meeting between a top US official, the Assistant Secretary of State, Professor Chester Crocker, and Pretoria, it is hard to believe the dialogue is going anywhere. Pretoria failed to listen when Mr Reagan called for the release of Nelson Mandela and political freedoms three months ago; why should it listen now that Reagan has become a lame duck on the issue?

Furthermore, the wider strategic policy for southern Africa on which the administration has expended so much energy — a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in exchange for a pullout of South Africa from Namibia — has run into the sand. This despite several broad hints over the course of the last few years that a breakthrough was just around the corner.

Instead, the US finds itself naked in the region. Relations with Zimbabwe, the most politically and economically appealing of the frontline states, are at a low ebb. Washington cut off foreign aid in July soon after Mr Robert Mugabe carelessly criticised American policy in the presence of

Jimmy Carter. There has been no such rush in Washington to sever economic ties to Japan in the wake of Mr Nakasone's insults aimed at American blacks and Hispanics.

The Administration hopes to pull itself out of the stalemate in southern Africa with financial blandishments to the frontline states. There has been much talk of a \$500 million US package and the President has written to Senator Robert Dole, the Republican majority leader in the Senate and an ally in the sanctions debate proposing a "comprehensive, multiyear programme to promote economic reform and development."

As yet, however, the aid package is still a pipedream. The White House and State Department are already said to be at odds over how it should be spent. Conservatives are determined to prevent funds going to leftist governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, which immediately rules out half the states which will be suffering the consequences of sanctions. This even before a penny-pinching Congress, working under the iron public spending yoke of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget law, has taken its cut.

This foreign policy debacle is directly attributable to a political myopia. All around, from the President's own state of California (which divested this summer) to trade unions in Chicago and his own friends in the business community, the nation has been waking up to the moral force of Black ethnic politics. But Mr Reagan was dozing in his cocoon of white advisers.

From terrorist to Prime Minister

By Ian Black in Jerusalem

WHEN Mr Yitzhak Shamir, leader of the rightwing Likud bloc, leaves the Foreign Ministry and takes over the Prime Minister's office from Labour's Mr Shimon Peres this week, his press advisers are hoping desperately that he will start to adopt a more positive and welcoming attitude to the media.

Although it will be his second term as Prime Minister, the short, stocky Likud chief remains something of an enigma. For a man who has spent many of his 71 years in the shadows — first as a terrorist fighting the British in Palestine, and then in the Mossad secret service — communicating does not come easily.

He will always, unlike other politicians, and especially unlike the outgoing and publicity-conscious Mr Peres, try to evade an interview. If pressed, he will give laconic, non-committal answers. One of his favourite responses is the single Hebrew word, *kacha* — because.

Mr Shamir is an unconventional politician who came to politics late in life. Born and raised in Poland, his formative years were spent in the harsh world of the fringe

Zionist terrorist groups that chose to oppose the British rather than cooperate with them against the Palestinians.

By the mid-1940s, he was one of a triumvirate running what he calls the Fighters For The Freedom of Israel, but which Britons still remember with a twinge of revulsion as the Stern Gang. Mr Shamir, known as "Michael," was in charge of operations. That meant killing people.

Mr Menachem Begin, head of the larger, rival Irgun group, had a more sedate war of liberation. While he sat in Tel Aviv cellars writing thunderous speeches, Mr Shamir was organising shootings and bombings. Twice captured by the British, he eventually escaped from detention in Eritrea and made his way back to an independent Israel in 1948.

Shamir-watchers believe that his underground days provide the key to much of his subsequent career. The experience of his escape from Eritrea, when he was crammed for days into a tiny compartment concealed in a petrol tanker, has been compared to the strain of the last two years of the



Mr Yitzhak Shamir

national unity government. An exaggeration, of course, but it makes an important point about his capacity to survive under stress.

His happiest years were spent from 1955 to 1966 working for the Mossad, the Israeli secret police, rising eventually to be head of its European operations in Paris. There were false names, fake passports, guns and utter secrecy. It was the time of the Franco-Israeli

honeymoon that began with Suez. His eyes light up when he talks about those days and he still prefers Le Monde to the New York Times.

Mr Shamir's precise intelligence duties remain unknown, but he is widely believed to have been behind the campaign of letter bombs sent to the German scientists writing on rocket technology for President Nasser of Egypt, then the most implacable enemy of the Jewish state.

When he was 60, Shamir came in from the cold for good. He flirted unsuccessfully with business and entered politics in 1973 as an MP for Mr Begin's Herut Party, still four years away from power. His strength was in organisation, talent-spotting and in building up party branches. But his views were as hawkish then as they had ever been.

"If I had to define Shamir's basic credo, I would put it like this," says one veteran Israeli journalist. "He never believes an Arab, any Arab, rarely believes a non-Jew and basically thinks that no news is good news in any area of national life."

Mr Shamir lacks Mr Begin's demagogic histrionic side, and he is demonstratively non-religious, although his undying belief in Greater Israel and the need to avoid any territorial concessions to the Arabs is no weaker as a result.

He can be calm under fire as well, as he demonstrated during the recent scandal — which could yet blow up again — over his role in the killing of two Palestinian terrorists by Shin Bet security men when he was Prime Minister in early 1984. Morality does not play an obvious role in his public life.

Mr Shamir's ability to survive has perhaps been most impressive inside his own party. Mr Begin's mantle has always been a heavy one, and he still faces vigorous challenges from the far right in the form of Mr Ariel Sharon, architect of the 1982 Lebanon war, and from Mr David Levy, the ambitious Moroccan-born populist who seems to many to represent the future face of the Likud. Against that background, Mr Shamir looks like a transitional leader, however long he stays in office.

The new Israeli Prime Minister is, in many ways, a lucky man. Mr Peres has left him a legacy of clever formulae designed to create a breakthrough in the stalled Middle East peace process. Yet the chances that they will work — given the continuing disarray in the Arab world and the unwillingness of both Labour and Likud to make significant concessions — means that Mr Shamir will probably not have to say "no" too often. But if he has to, he will. He has been doing so all his life.

The star-maker

Tim Puleine on Hal Wallis

HAL B. WALLIS, who has died at his California home aged 87, chose to call his autobiography *Star-maker*. As one of the first and most successful of the independent producers to emerge in Hollywood during the 1940s, he was responsible for promoting the screen careers of Burt Lancaster and Kirk Douglas among others, as well as those of Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis and Elvis Presley.

The low-brow profitability of the vehicles for Lewis and Presley was offset by riskier ventures into middle-brow prestige projects, adaptations of plays by Tennessee Williams and of other Broadway successes like *The Rainmaker* and *Come Back Little Sheba*.

He was the producer, too, of some high-powered melodramas. *Sorry Wrong Number* notable among them, and several handsome westerns, such as *Gunfight At The OK Corral* and *The Last Train From Dun Hill*.

These various films, and some others more negligible, were com-

monly distinguished by qualities of superior mounting and narrative clarity, the hallmarks of a creative as well as commercially shrewd producer.

It is possible, however, that Wallis's most lasting contribution to the cinema came during his earlier tenure as chief production executive at Warners. From 1933 to 1944, he was the guiding spirit behind that studio's remarkable run of successes in genres as different as the contemporary social conscience drama, stories torn, the slogan went, from the day's headlines, and the costume adventures associated with Errol Flynn. And one of his later productions at Warners was the immortal *Casablanca*.

In over 40 years Wallis's name appeared on some 400 films — good, bad, indifferent, and several classics of the Hollywood studio style. *Star-maker* he may well have been; showman he unquestionably was.

Conquering the cockroach

By John Ezard

A NEW and fiendishly complicated contender will be launched shortly in the search for the holy grail of the pest control world — a cockroach trap that really works.

In the war against unwanted insects this is seen as the equivalent of a better mousetrap or a good 10-cent cigar.

"The man who discovers it will find that the world beats a path to his door," a spokesman for the industry said last week.

In tests, a single trap has just netted 250 cockroaches in one fall swoop in an English hospital laundry which has asked not to be named on the grounds that it supplies linen to four other hospitals.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Chesham, Bucks HP80 1DD, England.

Other tests in overseas cockroach belts like Zimbabwe and Australasia have killed 660 to 1,000 of the insects per trap — but all in circumstances of similar discretion. "Having cockroaches is like having certain social diseases. No body wants to admit to them," said Mr Chris Price, managing director of "Tox-Free" Industries, Letchworth, the firm working on the trap.

The equipment, provisionally called a Roach-Buster, is at the frontier of pest control technology. It consists of a microchip, a raked, slanted grill poised over a sticky liner of insecticide and, most radically of all, a tablet which emits an "aggregation pheromone." This is a version, synthesised by Southampton University's department of chemical entomology, of the unique smell which cockroaches associate with the presence of other cockroaches.

Mr Peter Bateman, the British Pest Control Association's spokesman, said: "It sounds on the right lines in many ways. Cockroaches are one hell of a problem — and quite honestly almost anything is worth trying."

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Unfortunately, few people realise this fact, and they pay a severe penalty. For example, many expatriates believe — mistakenly — that UK tax only concerns UK residents. A misconception which can prove expensive.

As UK tax legislation becomes more and more complicated it is essential to receive expert professional advice if you are to capitalise on your expatriate status.

Examples of costly mistakes can include:

- * Failing to claim your tax refund due for the year of departure from the UK.
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- * Failing to recognise the significance of currency movements when disposing of investments, which could even result in Capital Gains Tax being paid on a loss.
- * Falling foul of the complicated residence rules which determine UK tax status.
- * Leaving money on deposit in UK Banks and Building Societies.
- * Failing to invest in tax sheltered investments which can reduce taxation on return to the UK.
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WITH varying degrees of success, inflation has been curbed in all the world's industrialised countries. It has fallen spectacularly in West Germany, substantially in France, but as yet insufficiently in the United States, where results in that department — described by Newsweek as President Ronald Reagan's "greatest achievement" — have been tempered by sluggish growth, budget and foreign trade deficits, and an alarming foreign debt burden.

Several factors, including persistent unemployment, have helped to bring down inflation rates, but probably one of the most important has been the slump in the prices of oil and most raw materials imported in large quantities by the industrialised countries.

In 1985, as the Financial Times noted recently, commodity prices were on average 35 per cent lower than they were in 1980. And the trend is continuing: the commodity price index (excluding oil) drawn up by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) fell by 3.5 per cent in June 1986 alone.

Over the last 20 years, many economists — of the kind the media usually describes as "brilliant" — have devoted their enormous talents to proving that raw materials account for only a tiny proportion of the cost of finished goods. What really counts, they say, is know-how, grey matter, research, patents, and engineering skills; and the modern world should be prepared to pay a high price for them.

They talk almost as if rare metals or raw materials from the tropics were now two-a-penny ingredients that the West could easily do without because of its immense ability to concoct laboratory substitutes for them. After all, what's the point of rubber plantations when you can make synthetic rubber?

Such theories received their first serious dent when oil prices went through the roof and revealed, at stroke, the extreme fragility of an already very rickety system. Over the last few months the phenomenon has been proved a *contrario*: the falling prices of most commodities have drastically attenuated that scourge of modern economies, inflation.

Up to the mid-20th century,

'Let them eat croissants'

economic "science" knew only one way to fight inflation: if you could get the economy to slow down and bring about a hearty recession with its attendant high unemployment, prices would miraculously stop rising.

But that good old nostrum, which had proved its worth in the past, suddenly stopped working. It became clear that recession or stagnation did not prevent inflation. So it was decided that this two-edged, inexplicable evil should be given a new name — stagnation.

A sick person always feels better if a name can be given to his illness, even if its cause and, *a fortiori*, the way it should be treated remain a mystery. That is why the history of the last few years bristles with neologisms.

But the realities of this world have now played another trick on economic "science": stagnation has survived the virtual disappearance of inflation. Stagnation is a worn-out notion: and there are now some 35 million jobless in the industrialised countries. Someone will surely have to give a name to this unknown ailment: it would not surprise me if the neo-liberals came up with yet another neologism.

While these developments were taking place, a mischief-maker — the Third World — insisted on breaking the rules of the game: although only on the touch-line, it inveighed against the way the world's resources were being squandered while two-thirds of its inhabitants went hungry. It clamoured for a new international economic order — a programme as ambitious as its content was hazy.

So what was the Third World complaining about? Did it want its share of the cake? To quell the fury of that protean monster, the West granted it gigantic loans totalling a billion (1,000,000,000) dollars — which will never be recovered, however much the IMF tries to penalise countries like Peru.

That massive outflow of wealth had at least one merit, that of enabling many underdeveloped countries to remain solvent cus-

tomers of European, North American and Japanese industry. As a result, the effects of the crisis in the West were temporarily alleviated or deferred.

But the flow of credits to Third World countries has dried up. They are being strongly urged to balance their books so they can repay debts. The IMF's most obedient pupils have more or less succeeded in doing that by drastically cutting their imports.

In any case, the extraordinary fall in commodity prices has reduced the Third World's export revenues and thus restricted its ability to buy goods from the industrialised countries. The lower cost of raw materials has certainly helped the latter nations to stem

By Claude Julien

inflation, but it has also deprived them of Third World customers. Here again, economic "science" has been found wanting.

There remains one solution, which the United States is now contemplating. By deregulating its manufacturing centres and opening factories in countries where labour is cheap, the American economy has rapidly become deindustrialised. If new jobs come on the market, they are to be found not in manufacturing industries, but in the service field.

This tertiary sector is as diverse as the Third World itself. On the domestic market, it covers a rag-bag of activities ranging from laundries and hot-dog stands to caretaking and health services; but it also includes powerful businesses such as advertising, banking and insurance, whose ramifications are worldwide.

American banks, for example, are deriving an increasing proportion of their revenues from outside the United States. At a time when the country is becoming deindustrialised, the service industries offer a really lucrative source of income. The White House knows this well, which is why it has been urging the General Agreement on

Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to negotiate a liberalisation of the tertiary sector worldwide.

Any such step would enable American banks, insurance companies and advertising agencies to step up their international activities — and thus increase the share of income they derive from abroad.

France is not particularly well equipped to deal with such stiff competition. True, it has some relatively powerful corporations. They were created not by private enterprise, but by General Charles de Gaulle, who carried through a wave of nationalisations that resulted in a number of small companies merging to attain a size that enabled them to compete on world markets (two examples are Banque Nationale de Paris and Groupe des Assurances Nationales). But, true to its credo that ideology must take precedence over realism, the present French government has decided to privatise them.

French free marketeers, though, believe they are right to follow Reagan's cue. Casting a starry-eyed glance at the American situation, they tell us that the service industries are inevitably the way forward. Everything must therefore be done to promote them.

The trouble is that they have not got their definitions right. The assistance which is apparently on the way will go to those services which benefit private individuals (in other words, efforts will be made to boost poorly paid low-grade jobs), and not to services to companies — the only kind that can bolster the kind of dynamic industrial policy that France vitally needs if it is not to lose even more ground to its competitors.

The government's new ambitions emerge quite clearly from the plans announced by Jean Arthuis, Secretary of State to Social Affairs and Employment Minister Philippe Séguin. With a view to promoting activity in the service industries, he said that he intended to include "by the end of the summer" a clause in the next budget that would enable "the wages and social security charges

of domestic help" to be tax-deductible.

What a brave and long-overdue step! Ever since the world of Marcel Proust was swept away by the tide of history, it had become quite impossible to get proper domestic help. The government has still not indicated how it intends to develop the ultra-modern technologies provided for by the Eureka project: but thanks to Jean Arthuis it looks as though the quaint, old-fashioned world of chambermaids and valets is far from an exciting future.

Not to be outdone, Séguin, interviewed recently on French radio, pointed to the American example, where jobs had been created in "a whole series of services." Then he asked the heart-rendering question: "Why should people eat stale bread for breakfast?" Why indeed? Listeners held their breath.

Séguin then explained his plan: if social security contributions were made tax-deductible, a bevy of currently unemployed people could get paid jobs delivering fresh bread, brochures and croissants, still hot from the oven, to people's homes.

Why had no one thought of this before? Well actually the idea is not entirely new. Séguin must possess a keen sense of history to advocate such a spectacular return to that wonderful world — alas no more — which was described so vividly by one of the most popular writers of the 19th century, Xavier de Montépin.

Although he penned no less than 350 books, Montépin was teetering on the brink of total oblivion. Séguin has kindly rehabilitated his most moving work, "La Porteuse de Pain" ("The Bread Deliverer Girl"), a five-volume novel published in 1884 and 1885. So economic liberalism, too, has its cultural heritage, its patent of nobility.

But what about services not to private individuals but to companies? Of this Séguin said nothing. Yet it is one of the strengths of the American economy. But then I suppose that, when people take a loaf out of the Americans' book, their choice of example tends to be tailored to their own modest ambitions.

(Le Monde Diplomatique, September issue)

China warms to US again

Continued from page 11

master to try to gain Peking's favour and show Washington that China was not as dependable as it used to be because of its rapprochement with the USSR, has therefore received a serious setback. And discussions are in fact necessary for averting a possible confrontation between the military and advocates of the armed struggle. That fear is strengthened by the emergence of commando groups such as the "September 11", which has claimed responsibility for assassinating the regime's opponents.

An anecdote I heard from a very reliable source moreover shows that the government's relative fragility is sometimes felt even in the highest echelons of the state. While flying to the Philippines recently, Pinochet dived off in his seat and the embarrassed pilot came round to tell him he had been refused permission to land and that he would have to turn back. The story does not say what Pinochet said in answer, but his wife exclaimed: "That's it, you have been deposed!" Quipped one Opposition leader slyly: "You can't possibly compare General Pinochet to the Andean Condorillas."

(October 11)

Mr M'Bow does the decent thing

UNESCO Director-General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow's judicious decision not to seek a third term of office in November 1987, which some of his supporters are even making out to be a "sacrifice", has been met with relief.

By clinging firmly to his post at the head of UNESCO, which he has held for the past 11 years, Senegal's former Education Minister had given rise to increasing fears for the future of this institution.

Following the withdrawal of the United States and Great Britain, the list of big nations becoming distrustful of a UNESCO which had grown less and less universal — Japan is the latest in the line — kept growing. Even the Soviet Union has been gradually backing away discreetly from an international civil servant who had ended up believing himself to be the captain of a ship determined to go down with his vessel, no matter what the cost.

The report given M'Bow even very recently by many Third World countries — African and Arab countries, in particular — could not make up for the fact that so many states were turning away, reluctantly in most cases, from the organisation. So M'Bow, who is moreover close to retirement age, finally decided to make a concession.

He can doubtless tell himself,

and rightly so, that his departure — it brought a swift favourable comment from Washington which formerly provided a quarter of UNESCO's budget — will not magically solve the crisis at UNESCO. In many respects, it is also the crisis of the entire United Nations system set up since 1945.

Another obvious fact is that in our day, culture — like sport — unfortunately cannot escape politicisation. But for the past 10 years and more, the tendency was for UNESCO to become increasingly sectarian, though less as a result of measures undertaken than because of the overall mood in which UNESCO operated.

M'Bow can also point out that he had not fallen down, far from it, in

COMMENT

the task of carrying on the work of his predecessors in such fundamental areas as the protection of the world's archaeological and cultural heritage, the elimination of illiteracy and the translation of major literary and scientific works.

It will be up to his successor — who remains to be found and all the signs are that it will not be easy — not only to consolidate the positive achievements, but also to heal wounds.

He will also have to grapple with the problem, and it will not be the least of his challenges either, presented by the fruitful and costly paper mill that UNESCO, like other international administrations, has turned into.

Meanwhile, the Director-General's decision will, as M'Bow has himself pointed out, doubtless help UNESCO authorities to "navigate in calmer waters" and later "strengthen the ship and run it more vigorously." And, let us hope, more rigorously.

(October 8)

Religious sects worry China

PEKING — The Western world has long wondered how to deal with newly-fledged religious sects. That Communist China should be faced with precisely the same problem is something of a surprise — though perhaps less so when it is remembered that secret societies have long flourished there.

The Canton police have just deported four Americans and Australians for allegedly trying to get people to join a sect called God's Children. Under the pretext of teaching English in hotels and in secondary and higher educational establishments in Peking, Shanghai and Canton, they recruited young Chinese men and women by projecting porno video cassettes and encouraging what the police described as "sexual promiscuity".

The publication of this information in the English-language press in China — no mention of it has yet been made in Chinese-language newspapers — confirms similar reports made earlier by the Hong Kong police.

The God's Children sect, whose "Pope", a Swiss resident, goes by the name of Moses David, has institutionalised the prostitution of its own members, who have to give a cut of their income to the "family". Young female recruits are often asked to use their charms to attract new members or simply potential financial backers.

Naturally these "flying little fish", as they are called here, are frowned upon much more by the Communist Chinese regime, which is not only puritanical but anxious to keep the activities of its subjects under close supervision, than they are by the governments of other countries.

Earlier, 115 foreign "missionaries" belonging to the God's Children sect (both students and teachers), who had converted several hundred young Chinese between the ages of 13 and 27, decided to leave China after police warnings. The four who remained were deported.

The Chinese, Hong Kong and Macao police have collaborated closely on such matters since 1983, and members of sex-orientated sects have consequently been blacklisted in all three territories.

The Chinese police have suc-

By Patrice de Baer

ceeded, then, in putting an end to certain such activities. Clearly, God's Children and other sects — including the Moonies, despite their extremely anti-Communist stance — are still trying to infiltrate into China by taking advantage of the government's "open door" policy and the renaissance of traditional religions.

The young Chinese inveigled into the sect or attracted by its more carnal activities have been taken in hand by the *gangang* (department of public safety). Ordinary members will be "rehabilitated", and the sect's leaders "severely punished" (probably with prison sentences of several years).

The Hong Kong clergy, and in particular the Protestants, are also worried about the mushrooming of new sects, which the colony's police have succeeded in infiltrating. Hong Kong, like China (but at another level), is basically a consumer society, and therefore provides fertile ground for the burgeoning of mystical sects.

A recent survey of Chinese youth published by the Peking magazine, *Society*, clearly revealed the mood of scepticism that has taken hold of the younger generation after the Cultural Revolution upheavals.

Young people no longer believe in anything much, and are no longer afraid to say so. Half of the 260 interviewees said they were not very happy with their present lives or with the economic achievements of the People's Republic since its foundation (which are considerable).

It is hardly surprising, then, that most young people are not much interested in joining the Communist Party, or that some of them, already drawn to anything imported from abroad, from blue jeans and pop music to religious sects, should have felt the need to seek succour in the God's Children sect.

China's traditional secret societies, after a 30-year period of almost total eclipse, have cautiously and secretly begun a renaissance, especially in rural areas. Such societies always served as a rallying point for those discontented with central government, and more particularly, over the last few centuries, for opponents of China's Manchu conquerors.

This explains why the Peking government intends to nip the sect's activities in the bud, particularly when they carry an aura of permissiveness. To do otherwise would play into the hands of the regime's more conservative elements, who still believe that the "open door" policy may result in China's youth being corrupted by decadent ideas from the West.

(September 5)

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Minitel's 'special' services alarm French jurists

By Anita Rind and Charles Vial

THE MINITEL explosion in France has opened up whole new horizons to a certain category of user, who is interested in sending or receiving messages with a more or less explicit sexual content. Such users range from genuine lonely hearts and those with sexual problems to jokers and people merely in search of kicks. But it has also proved a windfall to those suppliers of services smart enough to realise that a lucrative market opening was there for the taking.

The new facilities provided by Minitel have created unexpected new problems. The warning "Service for adults only" which sometimes flashes up on the screen — and conceals the private parts of a female figure — is praiseworthy and in any case compulsory, but quite ineffectual. There is no way that parents can prevent junior, when they are out, from using the Minitel for some other purpose than childish computer games.

That is not all: the sort of addresses and telephone numbers surreptitiously exchanged by lonely businessmen can be called up directly on screen. Innocent subscribers, to their alarm, have seen their own phone numbers displayed thanks to the efforts of "well-wishers". A number of merry japes of this kind have resulted in prosecutions.

More seriously, "interactive" video conversations can result in the incitement of minors to vice and even in the setting up of call-girl networks. This is an area where the law has been unable to keep pace with galloping new technologies.

Two recent cases illustrate what the authorities describe as the "fraudulent misuse" of Minitel. A 35-year-old woman was beaten up and raped near Nice by a 42-year-old man; she had met her attacker by making a date with him on her Minitel.

A journalist on Le Quotidien de Paris answered an ad put out by a specialised Minitel service and unearthed a network catering for paedophiles in the south of France. The scandal caused by these two cases led the company that owned the server-computer to close down its service.

Posts and Telecommunications Minister Gérard Longuet said he was "deeply shocked" by the two cases and would try, with the Ministry of Justice, to stamp out such practices. He alerted the data communications commission set up in 1979 by the PTT when the Minitel pilot scheme got under way. The commission, chaired by councillor of state Pierre Huet, immediately formed a working party to look into the problem.

Its members will have to show considerable imagination. They will have to interpret the law in a completely new light. But Huet and his colleagues will be examining not only the Minitel system but the telephone, which is still subject to the good old PTT regulations, yet is now being used in new and often startling new ways. The phenomenon has become particularly noticeable over the last three years.

Every week, for example, mass-circulation magazines carry a page or two of small ads with alluring slogans like "The Scorching Line", "The Hard Line", "The She-Wolves", "Pussyphone", "Sensual Yours" and so on. Some ads offer a range of services and prices. Those interested can choose to listen to a woman, a man, a transvestite or a couple "talking dirty". Each service has a different telephone number.

A typical 15-minute conversation with a woman costs 150 francs (about £15), and is payable by

credit card. "Absolute anonymity" is guaranteed. The girl calls back after checking with the bank's computer that the caller's card has not been stolen. The 150 francs is debited like any other purchase by telephone.

Then the erotic conversation begins. Its aim is to bring the caller (always a man) to orgasm within a quarter of an hour. The emphasis is not so much on two-way conversation as on provocative whisperings ("I love fellatio, it's great") and simulation of the sexual act ("Now I'm lying on you and you're caressing my buttocks"). The girl is specially selected for the quality of her voice, which must be warm and sensual.

If the caller, when his 15 minutes are up, tries to make a date with her, she refuses (if she accepted, she would immediately get the sack). She leaves the booth and goes back to the switchboard to wait for other calls. Often she may work for an agency that

Minitel, the electronic data communications system set up by the French posts and telecommunications (PTT) and made available to the general public in February 1984, has proved an immense success: the number of subscribers, which was 1.8 million in July this year, is expected to rise to 2.3 million by the beginning of 1987. Minitel users, both commercial and domestic, have access to a very wide range of services — directory enquiries, news, cinema programmes, ticket booking, hotel reservations, mail order facilities, banking information, share prices, games, and so on. Such services naturally have to be paid for: the cost to the domestic user is 60 francs (about £6) an hour, though it is much less to businesses. But one of the reasons for Minitel's success is that the hardware (the visual display units) are supplied free to subscribers in most parts of France. Recently, the lines have been getting busier. Other, less traditional services are now being offered to Minitel and ordinary telephone subscribers who require an outlet for their sexual fantasies. The situation has begun to alarm the government, and on September 15 an official PTT working party was set up to look into a growing problem.

operates in other areas as well, such as advertising.

The girls are not necessarily professional porno artistes (see box). While some of them also earn their living dubbing hard-core films, others are students or even mothers. They say they don't know much about the type of men they cater for, except that they are usually between 18 and 75, come from every walk of life, and are often lonely or hung-up or just cooped up in a hotel room with nothing to do.

The number of calls can dip appreciably on certain days — at the beginning of a new school term, for example, or when there is a big football match on television. The companies providing such services pull in an average of 50,000 francs (about £5,000) a day, though their income occasionally soars to ten times that amount.

There is another solution for those who are too shy or too poor to go in for interactive conversation: porno answering-machines (which operate in the Paris area only). If you ring one of the numbers indicated in ads such as "The Hot Line" or "Hello, This Is Amandine", all you get is a recorded message spoken by a woman or a couple. The language is crude to the extreme.

The message lasts two minutes

and two seconds, and the caller pays three times the cost of an ordinary call. The proceeds are shared between the state (the PTT and VAT) and the supplier of the service. The latter, which pays the person who records the message 70 francs (about £7), gets only 1.18 francs (12p) per call. That does not seem much, but it has to be remembered that there may be anything up to 20,000 calls a day.

These are rich pickings indeed, and 70 companies are currently waiting for the PTT's go-ahead so that they too can muscle in on the game. For in order to belong to Minitel's "Kiosque" network (which includes the services that provide weather forecasts, train timetables, or share prices, for example) special lines and metering systems have to be installed and an official authorisation granted.

Although on the fringes of pornography, the first type of communication (the interactive con-

versation) does not seem to pose insuperable legal problems. Jurists see no reason why such calls should not be regarded as private conversations, which are already covered by the law.

The second kind of communication is more problematic. Should it be regarded as a public message? Some say so, arguing that an answering-machine is accessible to anyone, including minors. Lawyer Jean Martin believes such communications are basically the same as any other verbal or press message, and that magistrates should be able to find guidance in existing legislation.

The issue becomes more complicated in the case of electronic data communications systems such as Minitel. A telephone answering-machine can leave tangible evidence in the form of magnetic tape. This is not true of the Minitel system when it carries interactive messages, which are mostly used for sexual rendezvous or exchanges.

"This is a real watershed in the development of new technologies," says Martin. "With computers, we have entered a new age — the age of the immaterial. And the law doesn't allow for the immaterial."

That being the case, it is very hard to establish proof or pin down responsibilities. For example, a conversation will be struck up between two correspondents. It can become increasingly specific ("Don't wear anything under your dress") and result in a firm date ("Be at the Place de l'Opera at 1pm next Saturday").

When such a message is directed at someone who admits to being a minor, it would seem to be a case of incitement to vice. This is where the problem of proof comes in. Electronic messages are "immaterial", to use Martin's expression. Yet they could be "materialised" if they were recorded.

In that case, the responsible body would have to be the service company and not the PTT, which refuses to "play at being censor" and claims that in its capacity as a mere "conveyor of messages" it has no obligation to acquaint itself with their content.

But a recording would still not be ample enough proof. There would have to be some system of dating recordings in some unfalsifiable way and of identifying the two parties beyond all possible doubt. Another possibility would be to monitor the content of messages and, if necessary, halt their transmission.

Some people argue that this would threaten civil liberties and kill off the whole phenomenon of computer messages. As one jurist

Sometimes it gets a bit like Alcoholics Anonymous, really pathetic. Lola began to find the work was distressing her. "I couldn't take it any more. I was getting obsessed with sex 24 hours a day. I don't think it's the sort of thing one can keep up for more than six months. I gave up because I was afraid of going crazy."

When she looks back on her experience, she thinks she may perhaps give it another try, but not straight away. "Anyway, it didn't make me unbalanced. To do that sort of thing, you have to have already sorted out your own sexual problems."

puts it: "Are the postal services banned on the pretext that they convey threatening letters?"

Most expert opinion believes that in view of the speed at which new technologies are being developed the best thing would be to adapt existing legislation rather than introduce new laws. This notion lay behind the Act of December 13, 1985, which defined the responsibilities of a director of an electronic data communications company as being very similar to those of the director of a printed newspaper.

The solution to the problem probably resides in the question of individual responsibility. This has already been realised in some quarters. François de Valence, for example, head of the A Jour group, which publishes the monthly Minitel Magazine among other things, decided last June not to accept any more advertising likely to encourage pornographic messages.

It was a courageous decision which cost the magazine 100,000 francs (about £10,000) of advertising revenue for a single issue. De Valence believes it was high time something was done. "The whole electronic communications world was being corrupted by a handful of porno services. When it all started, we used to describe porno messages as the wars of the system. Then we realised they had developed into a plague, so we decided to call a halt."

This attitude, which is based on a concern for the future of a technology that offers so many creative possibilities, runs directly counter to the gigantic financial interests involved. According to de Valence, "one of the major servers that specialises in porno can boast of takings of five million francs (about £500,000) within two months."

It is easy to see why leading newspaper groups — and even subsidiaries of the state-owned bank, the Caisse de Dépôts et Consignations, or the PTT management — have been unable to resist the temptation of making a fast buck with soft-porn message systems.

The "Aline" service, which is by no means in the hard-core category, operates for 2,000-3,000 hours within a day. It has its own server and pockets about two-thirds of the amount paid by users, who are charged an hourly rate of 60 francs (about £6). In other words, "Aline" is a big money spinner.

Success on that scale is not due to pure chance or the result of commercial exploitation. Although they are only nominally interactive, such message systems do answer the needs of a compartmentalised society. In the lonely crowd there are people trying to contact each other by whatever means they have at their disposal. So it is important that Minitel communications should not be hedged about with too much restrictive legislation.

Once the basic principles have been laid down and the essential legislation hammered out, as Pierre Huet hopes, it will be up to each party — and above all the users — to "put their own houses in order".

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The Washington Post

Summit Collapses Over Reagan's Stand On SDI

By Lou Cannon

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — The summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev collapsed Sunday night after the two leaders had tentatively agreed to sweeping reductions in nuclear arsenals but deadlocked on the crucial issue of restricting the U.S. space-based missile defense program widely known as "Star Wars."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, reporting in a strained voice on a meeting that began with bright promise and ended gloomily after more than seven hours of negotiation, said he was "deeply disappointed" and no longer saw "any prospect" for a summit meeting in Washington between the two leaders in the coming months.

Gorbachev, in a news conference, painted a bleak picture of U.S.-Soviet relations leading up to the weekend's summit and said that the talks had "ruptured" over the fundamental differences between the superpowers on the Strategic Defense Initiative and the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty. He said Reagan's insistence on deploying SDI had "frustrated and scuttled" the opportunity for an agreement.

The United States, Gorbachev complained, had come to Reykjavik "empty-handed," with the same "mothballed" proposals that the Soviets opposed in Geneva. But after the talks here, he said, he had told Reagan that "we were missing a historic chance. Never had our positions been so close together."

Gorbachev appealed to the American public and asked for a reconsideration of the U.S. position on a space-based defense system. "Let America think," he said. "We are waiting. We are not withdrawing our proposals. Despite the characterization of today, I don't think we are farther from Washington than we were before the meeting. We still have some chances. What we have discussed here still makes it possible to have a productive meeting in Washington."

The picture painted by Gorbachev was of a meeting that began with promise and ended in anger, with "pointed" debates over fundamental differences in the two countries' approach to arms control. In Gorbachev's view, the tantalizing prospect of a sweeping package deal made the lack of results all the more disappointing. "This was failure, a failure when we were very close to historic results."

He said the SDI issue was "the key to understanding what the U.S. administration really intends. Here in Reykjavik, the Americans wanted to organize the burial of the ABM treaty and wanted Mikhail Gorbachev to help bury it." The American stand was simply unacceptable to the Soviets, he said. "Who would accept that?" he asked. "Only madmen would accept that, and madmen are in hospitals. I don't see madmen in important positions running governments."

Reagan, in remarks to U.S. service personnel at the airport before leaving Iceland, said, however, that "though we put on the table the most far-reaching arms control proposal in history, the general secretary (Gorbachev) rejected it. We moved toward agreement on drastically reduced numbers of intermediate-range missiles in both Europe and Asia. We approached agreement on sharply reduced strategic arsenals for both our countries. We made progress in the area of nuclear testing, but there was remaining at the end of our talks one area of disagreement" — the American SDI program.



The end of the line — grim-faced Reagan and Gorbachev bid farewell

increase funding for SDI. Key House Democrats predicted that there would be a fresh flurry of debate about the compromises reached late last week on arms-control issues embedded in the continuing resolution now before Congress, which contains the money for operating the government in the current fiscal year. But adjustment pressures are expected to work to keep the compromises intact.

The contingent agreement reached by the two sides would have reduced all strategic strike forces by 50 percent in the first five years. In the following five years all ballistic missiles on both sides would have been eliminated.

Sunday night, in a 1-hour-and-40-minute news conference, Gorbachev said he had proposed the Iceland meeting because "we could not have allowed the failure" of a summit in Washington. And he indicated that he would not agree to come to the United States unless the deep dispute on defense systems can be solved. "If we had a third meeting in Washington that would have no results, I think that would be a scandal, unacceptable, impermissible," he said.

Reagan, weary and unsmiling when he left the white-shingled Hóldi House here after his negotiations, displayed some of his boyishness when he spoke to U.S. service personnel and their families at Keflavik International Airport, praising them for their service and joking that he was returning home late for dinner. But he was defiant when he discussed SDI, which he has called a "peace shield" that will someday protect civilian populations from nuclear destruction.

"While both sides seek reduction in the number of nuclear missiles and warheads threatening the world, the Soviet Union insisted that we sign an agreement that would deny to me and to future presidents for 10 years the right to develop, test and deploy a defense against nuclear missiles for the people of the free world," Reagan said. "This we could not and would not do."

The account given by the U.S. side was that Reagan agreed, for the first time, to delay deployment of a missile defense system for 10 years while research and development testing continued. Reagan wanted to deploy the system at the end of this time, while Gorbachev wanted the decision on deployment to be reserved to the end of the 10-year period.

"As we came more and more down to the final stages, it became more and more clear that the Soviet Union's objective was effectively to kill off the SDI program," Shultz said, "and to do so by seeking a change, described by them as a strengthening, . . . in the ABM treaty that would so constrain research permitted under it that the program would not be able to proceed forcefully."

Shultz, his eyes red and his voice occasionally cracking, made no attempt to hide his evident disappointment at the failure of the leaders to reach an agreement. Max M. Kampelman, the chief U.S. representative at the nuclear

briefed reporters on the meeting on condition they not be identified. In his speech Reagan said that he made to Gorbachev "an entirely new proposal" for a 10-year delay of SDI and added, "So long as both the United States and the Soviet Union prove their good faith by destroying nuclear missiles year by year, we would not deploy SDI."

But Shultz said that the United States intended to deploy a scaled-down SDI at the end of the 10-year period. In his news conference Shultz took issue with the notion that Reagan's insistence on SDI had killed the prospects for an arms agreement. He said "the existence of the strong research program about strategic defense and its undoubted promise" had caused the Soviets to engage in negotiations on arms reductions and that continuation of such a program was "the best insurance policy" that Soviet interest in arms reductions would continue.

When the two leaders met last November in Geneva the first time they reaffirmed their commitment to deep cuts in strategic weapons and agreed to hold successive summits, in 1986 and 1987, in Washington and Moscow. Instead, Gorbachev last month proposed a meeting in Iceland to give an "impulse" to the arms negotiators and Reagan accepted it, saying the meeting would be a preparatory one for a full-dress summit in the United States.

But White House chief of staff Donald T. Regan also indicated that there would not be a Reagan-Gorbachev summit in the United States. In a news conference here, Regan said, "No, there will not be another summit in the near future that I can see at this time. The Soviets are the ones who refused to make the deal. It shows them up for what they are."

Reagan had vowed before he left Washington to raise human rights issues face-to-face with Gorbachev, and Shultz said that the president had. But progress in this area was blocked by the final disagreement on the SDI provision.

"The issue of human rights was brought up on a number of occasions and some very significant material was passed on to the Soviet Union," said Shultz. He said that this included lists of Jews who had been denied permission to emigrate and numbers of people who had signified their desire to leave.

Shultz said that the subject

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This was failure, a failure when we were very close to historic results' — Mikhail Gorbachev

Onward At The U.N.

A GAME Javier Perez de Cuellar has accepted election by acclamation to a second five-year term as secretary general of the United Nations. "Thankless" does not begin to describe his assignment. The U.N. is riven and hamstrung in a familiar way on the big political questions. It staggers under a familiar organizational crisis that could yet be terminal. Mr. Perez de Cuellar is a man of intelligence and probity. He also thinks clearly. He has observed that it is "fundamentally contradictory" for the members to express their confidence in him personally while denying to the organization the support necessary to its effectiveness. Nonetheless, he has signed up for a second tour.

Money is short because (here is the log that broke the camel's back) the United States refused to pay its full dues to an organization that seemed increasingly anti-American. The administration egged on a Congress that needed no egging on. But then things got out of synch. The administration started finding reason to reconsider: the U.N. ganged up on the Russians for Afghanistan; Israel-bashing diminished; the special session on African development adopted American ideas; UNESCO began shaping up. Also, the U.N. reacted positively, if grumpily, to American urgings of reform; the secretary general led the way by cutting \$60 million from the budget and setting up a reform inquiry.

Congress, however, was slow to get word of the change. The administration, having helped create a monster, is now struggling to calm Congress down. The administration has held the congressional assault to old amendments already in law (Sundquist, Kassebaum, Roth) and has headed off new ones (Kasten, Helms, Heinz). In the Senate's appropriations bill, however, is a mean provision fencing off for a year \$130 million in State Department money for U.N. dues, among other items. The \$130 million should be freed up for timely spending. Otherwise, resistance is bound to increase to the reform program that the General Assembly took up immediately after it reelected Mr. Perez de Cuellar. Under that program, the administration has a fair chance to achieve the particular result that it now seems to have settled on. This is not so much to reduce American dues by way of downgrading the U.N. as to gain greater control of the organization's budget process in order to make the U.N. better fit to serve American interests.

Liberal administrations have never had trouble finding a rationale for working at the United Nations. It is welcome news that a conservative administration is finding its way.

Trade With Canada

THE UNITED STATES is now negotiating a free trade agreement with the Canadians, a process that deserves more careful attention here than it's getting. On the American side of the border, it's being left entirely to the trade specialists. But in Canada it has generated a vehement and strident debate that reaches into the fundamental issues of national identity and sovereignty.

In Canada there's a widespread fear that free trade would mean the imposition of American standards not only on the Canadian economy but on Canadian social policy and culture as well. The Canadians use subsidies lavishly to support employment and — a particularly sensitive subject — to keep their cultural industries, such as publishing and movie making, afloat amidst the inundation of American entertainment. The opponents of free trade — a colorful mixture of Canadian nationalists, protectionists and social idealists — argue vigorously that the trade agreement would necessarily abolish that whole structure. Would it?

Inexplicably, the Canadian government isn't offering much of an answer. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney gives every evidence of having embarked on these talks without having given any great thought to them. He seems now to have retreated from this crucial political quarrel. That leaves the field pretty much to his adversaries, who are propagating the most extreme and scary visions of the outcome.

These negotiations are headed for disaster if they remain on the present track. They are going to end in collapse, leaving a sense of betrayal on both sides as well as heightened Canadian fears of American intentions and a real possibility of more trade restrictions rather than fewer. The United States would be most unwise to press ahead with an agreement of this magnitude as long as the Canadians remain divided, unconvinced and apprehensive for their own national values.

There's a better way to proceed. Both countries can usefully declare that their goal is true free trade in the long run. But for the present, they would do better to state that they will move only one step at a time. As a first step, there are important trade irritants on which both countries are now ready to make compromises. The more difficult issues (cultural protection is likely to be among the most intractable) are going to have to be postponed to a later stage of a process that ought to be seen as a very long one. Instead of one sweeping agreement within the next year or two, the talks might better aim for a series of steps, one at a time, with no mandatory timetable. That's less dramatic than the present strategy. But, unlike the present strategy, it promises some hope of results that would be useful and acceptable to both Americans and Canadians.

Summit Collapses

Continued from page 15

would have been explicitly referred to if the two sides had issued a statement at the end of the talks.

He said also that the two sides had reached a tentative agreement on reducing intermediate-range missiles on terms favorable to the U.S. position. The two sides had agreed to global limits on these missiles that would have eliminated them entirely from Europe. Each side would have been permitted "a global ceiling on INF missiles of 100 warheads," Shultz said. The Soviet missiles would have been stationed in Asia and the U.S. missiles in the United States.

Asked why the two sides did not

at least go back and take up the intermediate-range Nuclear Forces part again, which they agreed on at least in principle, Shultz cited fatigue as a factor in the break-up of the talks: "Human beings being what they are, and the hour being what it was, to say, 'Well now let's go back and talk about this, that and the other thing' — there was just no mood to do that in any effective way," Shultz said.

The failure to conclude an INF agreement that would have removed all missiles from Europe because of American determination to continue Star Wars could also produce renewed friction with U.S. allies in Europe.



Eugene Hasenfus is led into captivity by two Sandinista Army soldiers.

Administration Denials Doubted

NEW details emerging of past links between the Americans shot down over Nicaragua and the CIA made official denials of Administration complicity in a plot to supply the rebel contras look increasingly flimsy. Two Americans and a Latin American died in the incident and the only survivor is in Nicaraguan hands. The survivor, Mr. Eugene Hasenfus, said in Managua he had worked in a large-scale, secret Nicaraguan rebel supply operation co-ordinated by the CIA in El Salvador.

Mr. Hasenfus, aged 45, told a news conference he was paid \$3,000 a month to drop light arms and ammunition to rebel contras. He said two Cuban-American CIA agents working in El Salvador "did most of the co-ordination for these flights" and arranged housing for up to 26 flight crew members and maintenance personnel.

The White House Chief of Staff, Mr. Donald Regan, was the latest official to confess Administration ignorance of the plane and its cargo of arms destined for the contras. He said, after inquiring among senior Administration officials: "They all assure me they know nothing about it. We don't know whose plane it is. We don't know for whom those people were working."

But official protestations are being taken with more than a pinch of salt. Senator Tom Harkin (Democrat, Iowa), a critic of US Central America policy, said that "CIA fingerprints are all over this." The Senate foreign relations committee is to launch an investigation into the incident. Other Congressional sources have pointed towards the White House National Security Council as the hand behind the supply operations for the contras, rather than the CIA.

Bush Calls Contra Supplier A 'Patriot'

Joanne Omang and Charles R. Babcock

MEMBERS of Congress said they are generally satisfied with the CIA denials but they want to know much more about who did sponsor the flight. Emerging from a two-hour top-secret intelligence briefing for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Chairman Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., said he had "no reason to doubt" the CIA position that it had no direct or indirect involvement with the flight. He did not think the three Americans aboard violated any U.S. law.

Vice-President Bush described as "a patriot" a Cuban-American identified as a leader of secret supply efforts to the Nicaraguan contras and said he has met the man three times. On a campaign swing in South Carolina, Bush did not comment on reports that the Cuban-American, Max Gomez, reported to Bush on his effort to supply the contras, or counterrevolutionaries, and that a Bush aide had helped make that effort possible.

The Los Angeles Times reported

Saturday that Donald Gregg, Bush's national security assistant, has recommended Gomez to the chief of staff of El Salvador's air force, who later gave him the job. Mr. Hasenfus has identified Gomez as a CIA employee who was running a covert supply effort to rebels inside Nicaragua from the Salvadoran base.

Bush avoided the points of the Los Angeles Times story and instead denied that he was directing or coordinating any operations in Central America. "To say I'm running the operation... it's absolutely untrue," Bush said. He also did not refer to the report that Gomez was involved in supplying Nicaraguan contras, instead describing his role as "to help the government of El Salvador put down... a Marxist-led revolution." Bush added: "That is the policy of the United States government to support that."

The allegation that Bush and a top aide were linked to the Nicaraguan rebel supply plane is the latest indication that White House

officials played a role in overseeing the secret war there after Congress cut off covert CIA aid two years ago.

The plane was one of several camouflage-painted cargo carriers based at one end of the Ilopango air field over the last several months. The Salvadoran government has denied any role in the contra supply mission, but several officials of private fund-raising groups said they have flown plane-loads of aid into Ilopango for more than a year.

The individuals whose names appear in stories about the private network of contra supporters often shared experiences in the CIA or the military during the Vietnam war. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams said in a television interview that he wouldn't be surprised if former CIA employees were hired for the contra supply missions. "When you're putting an operation like this together, you don't advertise in The New York Times," he said. "You ask around for people who are reliable."

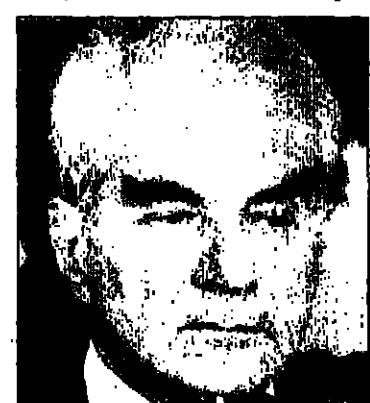
State Department Spokesman Resigns

By David B. Ottaway

WASHINGTON — Bernard Kalb, the assistant secretary of state for public affairs, has resigned in protest against the deception and disinformation campaign that the Reagan administration launched against Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi in August. "You face a choice — as an American, as a spokesman, as a journalist — whether to allow oneself to be absorbed in the ranks of silence, whether to vanish into unopposed acquiescence or to enter a modest dissent," Kalb said at an emotional news conference with the State Department press corps.

The resignation of the State Department's principal spokesman embarrassed the administration and again raised questions about its credibility.

Kalb said he had reached his



Mr. Bernard Kalb

the impact of the disinformation program on the credibility of the United States. "Faith in the word of America is the pulse beat of our democracy. Anything that hurts

ica," he said.

The 64-year-old former television reporter who became State Department press spokesman in January 1985 said he was also concerned about his own credibility "both as a spokesman and a journalist." Secretary of State George P. Shultz issued a short statement saying he was sorry to see Kalb leave and that he had seen Kalb leave and that he had admired him as a fine journalist, colleague, adviser and friend. "I wish him well," Shultz said. Kalb insisted that in handing in his resignation he was not criticizing Shultz, whom he repeatedly called "a man of integrity," a man of credibility. He refused to answer questions about whether his decision was related to the State Department's major role in drawing up plans for the disinformation

EISENHOWER: AT WAR 1943-1945, By David Eisenhower (Random House, 977pp, \$29.95).

THE EISENHOWER family has a literary bent that has stood it in good stead.

Early in life, Dwight and his brother, Milton, began to scribble. Ike's literary output over his lifetime was prodigious: thousands of pages of letters, diaries, memoirs. The scribbling dramatically boosted his early Army career (as a full-time ghostwriter for generals John J. Pershing and Douglas MacArthur). His war memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, made him a wealthy man. Milton was not far behind. Ike's son, West Point John, carried on with two books, including a best seller about the war in Europe, *The Bitter Woods*. Now the bent has emerged with astonishing intensity and brilliance in John's 38-year-old son, Dwight David II, a lawyer turned historian, who married President Nixon's daughter, Julie.

David's subject is his grandfather Ike. The contemplated project is vast: a three-volume political history of Ike's most public years, 1943-1960. The first volume — under review here — focuses mainly on the 16-month period when Ike was supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe: January 1944 to May 1945. The succeeding two volumes will encompass Ike's postwar service as Army chief of staff and president of Columbia University in the Cold War, NATO chief during the Korean War and president of the United States for two terms.

The underlying theme of these three volumes, I gather, will be how warrior Ike devoted the afternoon and evening of his life to a difficult but noble ambition: the creation of a lasting, peaceful world community. Central to the task was a need to draw the Soviet Union out of her historic, paranoid, isolationist posture. To do so would require certain unpopular — and risky — initiatives and accommodations by the West. Notwithstanding the bellicosity of his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, Ike's presidency — especially the second term — was at root motivated by this challenging goal. This explains the many overtures to Moscow that marked his presidency: Atoms for Peace, Open Skies, the Khrushchev visit, the nuclear test ban treaty (a prelude to general disarmament) and so on.

David has chosen to launch his narrative in World War II, principally to lay in the historical background for the presidential volumes. Lucky for us he did. While his main purpose is to show the great contribution of the Soviet Union to the defeat of Germany, and her emergence as a super-



power to be reckoned with — and Ike's early reaction to that new reality — what we have as well is a huge (977 pages), enthralling, new day-by-day account of Ike as supreme commander. Eisenhower: At War stands alone as a superb book, an intellectual tour de force rich in detail — richer than I have ever seen — and indisputably the best account of those momentous months that we shall ever see.

Given his purpose, the Big Picture of the war as David tells it in cool, precise, unflinching intelligent prose, is quite different from the usual American and British versions. Early on we are introduced to the formidable, icy Joseph Stalin at the Big Three conference in Tehran and told about the immense military campaigns being waged on the eastern front by literally hundreds of Soviet and German divisions. By comparison, the American-British operations in North Africa, Sicily and Italy, involving mere dozens of divisions, seem —

Ike: Genius Of Coalition Welfare

By Clay Blair

and are — puny. David's often-forgotten but quite valid point is that all major Allied military operations in the West were dependent upon continuing Soviet military successes; that without a "resurgent Russian front an Allied invasion of Europe would have been impossible"; and — later — that the Allied defeat of Hitler was possible only because hundreds of advancing Soviet divisions had drawn German forces from the western to the eastern front.

Upon his appointment as supreme commander of OVERLORD, David writes, Ike was acutely aware of and sensitive to the need for close cooperation with the Soviets and the "interdependence" of the eastern and western fronts. This "sensitivity" has "not been fully understood" by historians, David argues, nor "fully revealed by the memoirs of the major participants, including Eisenhower's own memoirs." Any portrayal of Eisenhower as supreme commander "that does not focus on the Russian problem and responses to it is incomplete, for it was the complex Allied-Soviet relationship that forced Eisenhower to think and act as a politician and ultimately to assume political responsibilities by such actions as his decision to cede Berlin and Prague to the Russians."

That theme dominates this volume. Ike's "sensitivity" to the Russians led, in part, to his unyielding opposition to Churchill's scheme for a "Balkan campaign" and/or expansion of the Italian campaign, which, if successful, might have put the British and Americans into Eastern Europe before the Russians. Either or both campaigns would have compelled the cancellation of ANVIL (DRAGOON), the subsidiary Allied invasion of southern France, which Roosevelt and Churchill had assured Stalin would follow the invasion of Normandy. Although there were compelling military reasons for ANVIL (DRAGOON) which he argued, Ike was not unmindful of the fact that cancellation of ANVIL (DRAGOON) would amount to a broken promise to Stalin which could lead to big trouble later on. In that sense, Ike's support of ANVIL (DRAGOON) and opposition to a Balkan campaign — examined exhaustively in this volume — was the

first of a significant list of accommodations to Moscow.

Of these "accommodations" none was more controversial than Ike's decision to halt American and British forces just short of Berlin and Prague. Ike's critics would argue simplistically that this decision, in effect, ceded large swaths of Eastern Europe to the Soviets, thereby enervating millions behind the Iron Curtain. But David reminds us that the situation was far more complex. The reality of Soviet military power, with hundreds of divisions poised at the Oder River, a mere 40 miles from Berlin, prior to the diplomatic agreements with Stalin, and other factors had already foreclosed any possibility of American-British dominance east of the Elbe. An opportunist occupation of Berlin and Prague would have deceived — and enraged — Stalin and could have led to a disastrous confrontation with Soviet troops — possibly leading to an East-West war.

These issues — and many other large Allied-Soviet problems — resonate throughout the narrative as the war in Europe rolls on in fullest detail from Normandy to the Elbe. But that is only one part of the story. Within the American-British camp, there were bitter political struggles over command and strategy, many of them unrelated to the Soviet problem. Ike walked an unenviable tightrope every day of his command, struggling to bring its prima donnas into harmony and prevent ruinous self-destruction.

Ike's management approach — compromise — would later draw some severe criticisms from the disputants. David confronts these criticisms candidly and in complete detail, displaying a masterful control of sources and a fascinating talent as defense counsel. In each instance the explanations for Ike's decisions are so cogently and brilliantly laid out that even to question them seems cheap and tawdry. Ike himself is familiar — foursquare, modest, intelligent, likable — and yet much enlarged, a giant among giants, confirmed here beyond any question as a genius at "coalition warfare."

With this book — six years in the making — David has outwritten all his prolific forebears combined. Eisenhower: At War is a thousand times better than *Crusade in Europe* and far superior in breadth and scope to *The Bitter Woods*. If the two succeeding volumes hold up as well, he will have produced a magisterial work and firmly established himself in the front ranks of American historians.

Clay Blair, co-author of *General of the Army Omar N. Bradley's "A General's Life"* and author of "Ridgeway's Paratroopers," is writing a new history of the Korean War.

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Farm and forest

EVERYONE is now convinced that we have a bumper harvest on our hands, surpassed only by the record-breaking one of 1984. Far from holding a Harvest Thanksgiving service in gratitude for all this bounty, economists and politicians are dolefully shaking their heads as they agonise over what to do with it. Their problem is twofold. First, what to do with the present cornucopia; second, how on earth to prevent it from happening again next year.

Well, on the first count, the market for grain, and especially the export market, is more buoyant than it has been in recent years. There was a drought earlier on in the Mediterranean countries, which are consequently buying a lot of British barley. However, to avoid having to put grain from this harvest into store and so adding to the grain "mountain," we would need to export 8.6 million tons, which is more than 2.7 million more than we have ever managed before. It is unlikely to happen.

The price on the home market is better, too, than it has been recently. Last year at this time, feed barley was selling at between £96 and £97 a ton; this year the current price is £102.50. Last year, if a farmer sold his barley for store

wheat available from other sources. And with such a dramatic fall in the price of their basic raw material bakers would have no excuse for postponing a similar dramatic fall in the price of bread, thus cutting the cost of living. It's the old law of supply and demand which normally prevailed until the EEC took a hand. But I fear my great-grandfather would be a very unpopular man.

So, stuck as we are with the Brussels bureaucracy for the foreseeable future, our politicians search desperately for other methods of relieving the pressure. Alternative crops, conservation, forestry, all have their advocates.

It so happens that, with an interest in a large forest that is becoming a nature reserve, I have been learning a lot about the economics of forestry, and, believe me, except on the poorest land they are no alternative to farming.

Probably the best financial return can be expected from Corsican pine, which is a quick-growing species in demand commercially. It is a 60-year crop. Assuming that prices remain stable, regular thinnings during that period would yield £2,106 per hectare, and the final felling would give

By Ralph Whitlock

the intervention price was £112.60; this year it is £108.96, less £3.30 EEC levy. And the farmer has to wait for four months for his intervention payment, which, if he is on an overdraft, as most farmers are around harvest-time, will whittle away the difference between the intervention price and market price and make it more attractive to sell on the open market.

Against this, of course, there is no guarantee the market price will hold. It may be falling even now. Harvest has been a protracted affair this year, resulting in there being no early flood of grain to send prices plummeting, but now, as the hymn says, "All is safely gathered in," and there is ample for every need.

The world market price for wheat is around £36 a ton. A huge subsidy is therefore payable to farmers, through the machinery of intervention prices. Our Government would dearly love to slash it but are bound by Common Market rules, which insist on maintaining prices at uneconomic levels in order to protect the numerous peasant farmers of continental Europe. A few weeks ago French traders sold a million tons of wheat to Russia at £26 a ton. The wheat was subsidised to the extent of £85 a ton.

I have not yet discussed this with my long-deceased great-grandfather, for whose sagacity I have a profound respect, but I think I know the solution he would suggest. Cock a snook at the EEC and let the world market price be our market price. A price of £35 a ton for wheat would cut the British wheat acreage to practically nil in the following year, but, never mind, there would be plenty of

A COUNTRY DIARY

KESWICK: I said goodbye to a garden last week, at least for winter. It is to me, a special garden — a National Trust one at Acorn Bank, just south of Penrith — and it was a special day too of warm sun and clear sky, as if summer was not quite gone. The last time I was there was in April on one of the most bitter days of the year, the vicious easterly Helm wind had blown on and off for weeks and its effects were evident. The herb garden within the walled garden proper had been killed, but even there things had survived. All the thymes were dead or dying. But

now, if you stand at the arched entrance to the herb plots, you will see a brave show; there are all sorts of greys and greens among the turning colours and, almost at your feet grows new thyme, silver posy, well named, beside blue hyssop and the pale yellow flowers of young fennel. The centre border of kitchen and "simple" herbs are dominated by yellow anemone, blue borage, and purple liatris.

The upper crust in Tallin

Martin Walker reports from the capital of Estonia and (below) on a treasure house of Russian culture

THE PARTY was meant to bring together the bolder spirits of the new wave among the artists of the Soviet Baltic republics. But almost as soon as they arrived, the contingents from Latvia and Lithuania made a bee-line for the back room where the TV was showing the credits for the latest episode of Dynasty.

It was a long night. After Dynasty came the Benny Hill Show, and then Miami Vice. And before the late night rock video programme began, there was the news in Finnish. Being accustomed to Finnish TV, the Estonians just got on with the party.

Helsinki lies less than 50 miles to the north, and Finnish TV beams across the choppy strait into the homes of the 1.6 million Estonians who all seem much more at home in Finnish or English than they are in Russian.

The ferries that bring the weekenders to the Estonian capital of Tallin also bring the jeans and designer track-suits, the jogging shoes, tights, and cosmetics that make this ancient trading port — one of the Hanseatic League cities that dominated medieval commerce — the best-dressed city of the contemporary Soviet Union.

It remains a surprise in a Soviet city to be woken up by church bells on a Sunday morning, to stroll through an old town that has been lovingly restored, to smell roasting coffee and fresh baking in the streets, or to pop into a tiny bar inside the city walls for a glass of hot mulled wine.

We Westerners who live in the Soviet Union tend to notice only

when we get back to the West how certain of our senses have atrophied. We have lost the knack of living in the consumer society, and get stunned by the lights and sounds and blare of advertising even at London airport. We shop compulsively, yet get confused by the vast range of choice, yearn for decent restaurants, but dither helplessly over menus.

The only place in the Soviet Union where we start feeling these strange symptoms is in Tallin, where the cafes are stuffed with fresh cream cakes, and the food shops offer a range of salamis that are only available in Moscow for hard currency, and not always then. Tallin even boasts a new unisex fashion store called Mood, offering unheard-of things like white three-piece suits for men and stylish clothes for women with hugely padded shoulders.

And like its neighbour on the Baltic coast, the Latvian capital of Riga, Tallin not only boasts the medieval old town, but also what can only be described as an upper-class suburb of large detached houses set in parkland. The area is inhabited, overwhelmingly, by Estonians, while the Russian immigrants tend to congregate in the ugly new high-rise districts.

On Sunday afternoon, the leafy suburb of Nõmme was having its sports day. Horses trotted around for the gymkhana, there was a welly-throwing competition and kids' races, and the truck selling take-away shish-kababs and dumpling stew was doing good business. Some idiots had thrown an old tyre on to the bonfire and thick black

smoke drifted across the field to the stage where the local punk rock group Big Sister was thumping out an outrageous version of "Get it on."

I strolled round the field with an Estonian friend who talked gloomily about the future prospects for Estonian prosperity. His parents made their money mainly from their greenhouses, where they grow flowers for private sale. Their current house, with its private sauna in the basement, its Western TV and video, and its collection of antique clocks and 18th century china, had all come from flowers.

His own lifestyle, which included a new Lada hatchback, designer clothes, and a video camera, was funded by his moonlight work as a disco entrepreneur. Officially, his pay for presenting a disco night was just under one pound — 98 kopeks. In fact, everybody knew that a decent disco cost at least 60 roubles in cash. And, since he offered a video disco, with a big-screen TV and the latest video clips recorded from Finnish TV, he could make 150 roubles a night.

But the growing crackdown on what the Kremlin calls unearned incomes, and the new checks on just where the money was obtained before you can buy a new house, or build a new dacha, or buy another antique clock, was putting a cramp in everybody's lifestyle.

Hitherto, the socio-political consequences of Soviet citizens freely watching capitalist TV have been blunted by Estonia's relative prosperity. But it may not last.

Autumn of the patriarch

AS YOU come over the brow of the last hill and see the monastery-city of Zagorsk sprawling arrogantly ahead, you start to understand what the Mongols felt. And all the other invaders. The Poles and Lithuanians besieged the place for 16 months nearly four centuries ago. And they never broke in to loot this treasure house of Russian culture.

With the golden domes glinting in the sun, the place reeks of wealth and the precious offerings that accumulated from generations of piety. Its vast fortress walls, over 30 feet high and studded with watchtowers and slits for the archers, are clearly protecting something of enormous value.

Forty miles north-east of Moscow, Zagorsk is the fortress of the old Orthodox Church militant. Founded over six centuries ago by St Sergei, it became the linchpin of the chain of monastery-fortresses which ringed Moscow and made up the city's defence against the Tartars.

It has been a key to Russian history ever since. When Moscow and its Kremlin fell to the Polish invaders, Zagorsk held out and

became the base for the national uprising that threw them out again.

Boris Godunov is buried here, and the young Peter the Great made it the residential headquarters of his own struggle for power. Its walls contain three cathedrals, smaller churches, a Tsar's palace, a hospital and a monastery, and to this day it is the centre of the Orthodox Church, the residence of the Patriarch, the main seminary and theological academy.

It is also a strange kind of refuge for the mad and crippled and those transported by religious fervour. Last week, we saw two old women wrestling each other to the ground before the shrine in the cathedral of the Dormition. They were arguing over precedence — which was to kiss the floor first.

On earlier visits, I had seen drunks retching in the yard by Boris Godunov's grave, and mentally deficient children being urged up the cathedral steps on their knees by their devout grandmothers. I have not yet been to Zagorsk without some intervention of the grotesque, some scene which harks back to the medieval, a reminder of the visceral force of old Russia in the midst of the Soviet state.

Zagorsk is about to lose a part of that precedence which gives it magic. In time for the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Christianity in Russia in 1988, the residence of the patriarch and the administrative centre of the Orthodox Church are to be moved from Zagorsk to the newly-restored Danilovskiy monastery in central Moscow.

It was probably inevitable, that the superstitious should have begun the rumour of divine displeasure at Zagorsk's imminent demotion to account for the mysterious fire which broke out in the monastery the other weekend and which

killed five young seminarians. It began in the early hours of the morning, in the seminary, but the fire brigade prevented any major damage.

Tragic as the news is, we should all be grateful that the cathedrals and museums are undamaged. Even more than the Moscow Kremlin, the Trinity and St Sergius Lavra monastery (to give it its pre-revolutionary name) embodies the culture of Russia. You can stand in one spot and see the development of Russian architecture, from the holy trinity cathedral of the 1420s, to Ivan the Terrible's Dormition cathedral of the late sixteenth century.

The great icon painter Andrei Rublev painted his masterpieces here, and the museums of a monastery are an enchantment giving way to icons, to centuries of the local wood carvers' art. The place is an instant and total immersion in everything that made the Russians what they were, and what they remain beneath the Soviet veneer.

It is a reminder of how very different they are from the rest of us Europeans. Their religion came from Byzantium and the East, and not from Rome and Luther. They missed the great cultural storm of the Renaissance, and only belatedly began to join the European cultural mainstream with the Enlightenment.

But in the end, you remember the solid stone walls of Zagorsk — the role of church as defender. Had it not been for the sturdy monasteries of old Russia, our ancestors in the West might never have had a Renaissance or a Reformation. Just as the modern Soviet state is filled with reminders of the price they paid to stop Hitler, Zagorsk reminds us of the older, enormous price they paid for saving medieval Europe from the Mongols.

Return of the write stuff

THEATRE by Michael Billington

MODERN American plays rarely confront public issues head-on. Instead, they come home muttering darkly about the prevalence of what he termed "diaperdrama." But Richard Nelson's rich and stimulating *Principia Scriptoriae* — now at The Pit after playing at the Manhattan Theatre Club this April — is a genuine play of ideas. It deals with the fate of the writer under left and right-wing regimes, with the complex motivation behind the creation, and indeed with the abiding consolation of literature itself.

It would be unfair to give too much away. But the first half takes place in a Latin American town in 1970. Two young writers have been imprisoned for pushing leaflets opposed to the country's Fascist government: Bill is a swarthy, energetic, Cambridge-educated native of the country they are in. Their initial belief that they will be quickly released gives way to the dawning realisation that they will be cruelly tortured.

The second act switches to the same country, now under a left-wing government. In 1985. Three members of an international writers' committee have come to protest about the imprisonment of a celebrated poet who was employed as an ambassador by the previous regime. Ernesto is now secretary to the Minister of Culture, Bill (who is accompanying the delegation) is a star-journalist and novelist whose fame rests partly on the description of his experiences.

As the title implies, Nelson is fascinated by rules of writing, indeed each scene is framed by a caption on the lines of "Choose Your Setting Carefully." But these captions strike me as partly ironic ("Remember it is 99 per cent Perspiration" prefaces a scene in which Bill and Ernesto are sweat-soaked prisoners) since Nelson is really saying that writers can only dig out what is in themselves.

Bill at first looks like a no-hoper, vainly envying Ernesto's exotic South American background with that scene after scene goes by on the same note, with some of the lesser actors seeming suspiciously as if the life has been dubbed out of them.

Only the wooden galleon, specially built for the film, is a constant joy as Captain Red, terror of the high seas, tries to get hold of the Aztec treasure it bears to Spain by hook or by crook.

We first meet him, half-dead, with hunger and thirst, on a raft with his young accomplice, trying to eat fish from the book and swigging the last remaining water. That scene, which allows Matthau full rein, is good enough to whet the appetite.

A second thought is that this two-hour comic swash-buckler has been cut together from a much longer movie, and none too convincingly, though goodness knows we don't want any more of it at the end. Most importantly it may simply be that you can't parody what were already ventures of parody without steeply diminishing returns. And, in the age of hijacking, pirates don't seem so terribly funny anyway.

If all that were not enough, Gerard Brach, who collaborated with Polanski on his other comedy, *Dance Of The Vampires*, seems to have set one tone throughout so

a mother who escorted him to his first job, becomes a good writer, we assume, because he feeds off his own experience while Ernesto turns into a literary bureaucrat. Nelson's point seems to be that you can't acquire literary skill through imitation: you have to live first.

But part of Nelson's fascination is that he doesn't peddle messages but leaves you to draw your own conclusions. At the heart of his play, however, is a wonderful paradox: the writer as both victim and exponent of politics. He makes it horribly clear that authoritarian regimes use the writer as a tool: with lethal irony, he shows a left-wing government even dubbing some illiterate Honduran prisoner a "poet" in order to get him out of gaol.

Yet, even as he shows writers as pawns in political games, Nelson makes the point that the writer has an overpowering social responsibility. At the back of his play is also a profound belief (refreshing in an age of creeping philistinism) in the supremacy of literature: after hideous penal torture, Bill resorts to quoting The Sefarim and the words "No kinsman can comfort a desolate man." This is not literary chic but a moving assertion of the power of language.

Nelson is not above manipulating characters to make a point (I found Bill's return to the country of his torture a bit hard to take). But the cheering fact is that he addresses ideas without precepting discussion. His play also gets a beautiful production from David Jones imbued with selective realism.

The acting matches the production with Antonio Lener, at first all smartass swagger, and Sean Baker, initially full of refined contempt, giving us a sense of two men who grow up before our eyes.

But Nelson's achievement is that he turns a play about writing into a comment on society and that he takes American drama out of the kitchen and the living-room where it has got stuck.

Graven imagist

Richard Boston on the appeal of Thomas Bewick



IT'S high time that something was done about Bewick. If you even mention the name you have to make it clear from the outset that you are not talking about the ugly large American automobile which is spelt differently but pronounced the same, but that instead you are referring to the far more agreeable work of Thomas Bewick (1753-1828), the greatest wood-engraver of all time.

Of course Bewick's work has always been much loved and admired by among others, Wordsworth, Ruskin, Carlyle and Charlotte Brontë, as well as the great Franco-American artist-ornithologist Audubon who made a pilgrimage to visit the old man.

Yet there often seems to be something slightly condescending and defensive about the way in which even Bewick's admirers speak of him. Partly this is for the simple reason that he was English and the English have always underestimated their achievements in the visual arts (and, indeed, music). It always comes as a mild surprise to hear foreigners speaking approvingly of Constable or Turner or the music of the composer whose Ravel called Sir Elgar. What hopes then for the matchbox-size works of Bewick?

Not only was he English. He did not mix in high society. He hated London and lived in Newcastle. He was a provincial craftsman who spent most of his time working, as he put it, "for the kitchen" cutting blocks for tradesmen's headed invoices and for invitation cards, or engraving on metal everything from doorplates to dog collars. In

his free time the skill of his demanding craft was used in the service of his art, with such glorious results as *The General History of Quadrupeds*, the *History of British Birds*, the *Aesop's Fables* and the uncompleted *History of Fishes*.

His subject matter was not that of the art of the museums and galleries. He did not cover large areas of framed canvas with oil-paint depicting scenes from history or mythology, or portraying the mugs of the rich and powerful. He did something far more interesting. Like his contemporary Gilbert White at Selborne, he observed the real, everyday world in minute detail and recorded it accurately, warmly and good-humouredly.

His *History of British Birds* was "intended chiefly for youth." In the introduction Bewick wrote that "I delineated the figures with all the fidelity and animation I was able to impart to mere woodcuts without colour, and as instruction is of little avail without constant cheerfulness and occasional amusement, I interspersed the more serious studies with Tales of pieces of gaiety and humour."

All Bewick's senses are fully engaged. In his engravings you freeze at the cold of the winter mornings, your feet are dragged down by the weight of the snow through which the man trudges across a field. The physical movement of his ice-skaters is captured with an accuracy that is rarely found before the invention of photography. Sometimes he even anticipates twentieth-century art, as when his own engraved thumb-

print mysteriously obscures part of a scene.

Bewick's first 14 years were spent on a small farm called Cherryburn, near Newcastle, which belonged to the Bewick family until well into this century. Now his birthplace, along with six acres of farmland that look hardly changed at all since the eighteenth century, have been bought by the Bewick Trust, an independent charity which has been formed by (among others) Frank Atkinson, director of the Beames Museum, and Iain Bain, author and editor of several Bewick books. The idea is to preserve Bewick's birthplace and the lovely countryside around it, and to present Bewick's work for the enjoyment of visitors. In the longer term they hope to provide facilities for the study, research and display of the history and techniques of wood engraving from Bewick's time to the present day.

Unemployed youngsters under the Community Industry scheme are already working on the buildings and clearing the site, but there is still a huge task ahead. Financial help has already come from the Countryside Commission, the Tyne and Wear District Council, and the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and an appeal is being launched for the further £400,000 or so that is needed.

In due course there will be a residential warden to cope with the visitors, to look after the house, the engravings and the land. A wonderful job for someone. I am working on my application already.

Yo-ho-ho-hum

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

the Grand Prize at Locarno, last year, is as slow as *Pirates* attempts to be fast.

The characters are mother, father, daughter and son — the last deaf and retarded. For three-quarters of an hour we watch as they go about their daily life, anxious about the boy and wondering whether one day they will have to take him into the valley for some kind of education. Glorious photography keeps the mind alert, and the simplest, most naturalistic acting makes the film seem almost like a documentary.

Then Murer, a Swiss documentary filmmaker with only one other feature to his credit, unleashes his drama. The boy, striving to handle a grass-cutting machine, stalls it and in a fit of peltance, throws it over a rockface. Banished from the

house by his father, he camps out on the mountainside where his sister brings him bedding and food.

What follows is an extraordinary love affair with tragic consequences that's filmed in such a way as to be just about the most engrossing piece of cinema around at the moment. Although the film is about an incestuous relationship, it is not about sex, least of all anything perverse.

This is a portrait of such sureness and such close detail that, at the end you feel you have seen the truth of the matter about civilization and all its works. Of course, one hasn't, or anything like it. The last hour, however, is little short of miraculous. It could have been filmed a dozen other ways, but Murer's quiet persistence could not be more rewarding. If you miss this, you'll deprive yourself of a real experience and one of the very best and most resonant movies of the year.

John Laing's *Other Halves* describes itself as "a dangerous love story" and, in terms of the New Zealand cinema, it certainly treads awkward ground.

A middle-class Auckland woman, in the throes of a nervous breakdown caused by a floundering marriage, has a rip-roaring affair with a young Pol-

street boy, inviting his homeless friends to share her house although she's fighting for custody of her child. The two initially meet at a psychiatric hospital, where the boy has surprisingly been sent for stealing and she is recovering from a suicide attempt.

Based on a book by Sue McCauley, who wrote the script, the film pursues an erratic course between optimism and pessimism, suggesting a future for the pair, if a doubtful one. Principally it is about two lonely people who might never have much more than each other.

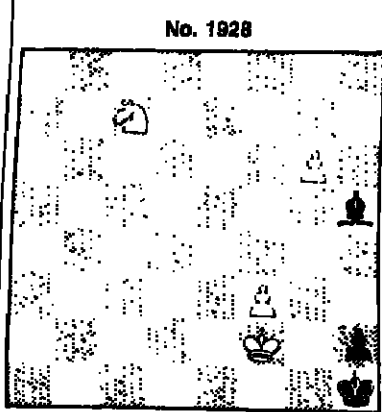
Easily the most interesting character is the boy, played by Mark Pilisi in his acting debut with the kind of direct strength that seems entirely credible. There is no attempt to sentimentalise the character who is both capable of affection and also careless with it. What isn't so clear is why this nice if put-upon New Zealand housewife gives so much to him, and Lisa Harrow's portrait of quiet desperation turning into total obsession doesn't ring entirely true.

This has something to do with the writing but it is a sharp fact that Laing's tight little romance is played out.



Who next versus Kasparov?

CHES by Leonard Barden



White mates in four moves, against any defence (by G. Glass). This week's puzzle looks simple, but the battle between White's knight and Black's defensive bishop is subtle and precise. One expert took more than an hour to crack it — can you do better?

Solution No. 1927

White K at K2, B at Q6 and KB7, N at K1, R at KB3, P at Q5 and Q6. Black K at K8, N at K4, P at Q5. Mate in three.

1. R-Q3 (threat 2. B-Q5 ch). If 1... NxB2 2. R-N1 NxB3 3. N-B3. If 1... N-Q6 ch 2. N-N or 1... N-N5 ch 2. P-N. If 1... N-B2 2. B-Q5 P-N3 B-N.

GARY KASPAROV finally retained his world title by 12½ points to Anatoly Karpov's 11½. His modest margin at the end contrasted with the situation after game 16 when he led 4-1 in wins and looked likely to score a technical knock-out with six outright victories. There are two views of Kasparov's

Just in time, the mature, creative

and controlled grandmaster Kasparov returned to stop the rot with a couple of quick draws. Then came the impressive 22nd game with its dramatic final attack.

What of Karpov? Frankly, his game in the second and third title matches has been generally patchy and disappointing. Compared with his great period in the middle and late 1970s and the early games of the first Kasparov match, his approach has become somewhat sterile. Obviously, too, his once impeccable defence has developed flaws, particularly in simple but slightly passive positions. He lost five of his twelve games with Black, a tremendously high percentage for Karpov, and it could easily have been seven. Obviously Kasparov takes some of the credit, but I feel that Karpov, though theoretically at 35 still in the prime of chess life, is actually past his peak.

Who, then, is the next serious challenger for Kasparov? It's difficult to name one. Andrei Sokolov, aged 23 and thus a contemporary of Kasparov, has unexpectedly come through the candidates series and qualified for the "super-final" at Linares, Spain, next February against Karpov. Sokolov was 4-6 down to Artur Yusupov but in a remarkable finish he won 7½-6½. Throughout the interzonal candidates tournaments, and challenge matches against opponents he called Sokolov "lucky". Maybe his appearance, of a casual and amiable hippy, is disarming. He has clearly created his own luck, but it is still hard to see him living with the two Ks. At the recent Bugojno super-tournament he won just one game, admittedly against Karpov, and drew the rest.

Nigel Short? Reaching the candidates at age 20 and ranking No 9 in the world is fine, but you have to be a winner against the top GMs to be a potential Kasparov opponent, and by that yardstick Short's first prize at Wijk aan Zee is his only real result. He has done little in recent months — at age 21 in the 1980s Keres and Fine were touring Europe winning tournaments in brilliant style.

Someone even younger? There are players in their early teens who show outstanding promise, and two of them, Adams and Sadler, are British. But unless Kasparov's character somehow beats himself then probably you need at least a 12-15 year age advantage to dethrone a super champion like Gary K.

Bridge

By Rixi Markus*

THE second International Oce Bridge Tournament in Hertenbosch included many young and keen Dutch competitors, and I was particularly pleased to see so many women pairs playing, several of them finishing near the top of the field.

During the tournament, there was an exhibition match between four expert teams from Denmark, Britain, Netherlands and Poland, the last running out convincing winners. Frans Born and I were the Vu-graph commentators and I noticed two particularly interesting hands. This was the first, deal by East at love all.

NORTH		WEST		EAST		SOUTH	
♠	K 10 8	♠	9 5 4 2	♠	A J 8 3	♠	Q 7
♥	8 7 4	♥	6	♥	Q J	♥	A K 10 5 3 2
♦	A K Q	♦	10 9 8 7 6 5	♦	4 3	♦	J 2
♣	8 5 3	♣	A J	♣	K 10 9 4 2	♣	Q 7 6

In one room, the bidding was as follows:

EAST		SOUTH		WEST		NORTH	
1C	2H(1)	1C	2H(1)	1C	2H(1)	1C	2H(1)
2C	3NT(3)	2C	3NT(3)	2C	3NT(3)	2C	3NT(3)

(1) Showing a good heart suit and the values for an opening bid.
(2) Showing values and implying support for hearts.
(3) South was happy to settle for a nine-trick game contract.
This proved to be an excellent decision, and South had no difficulty in making nine tricks after the natural lead of the ten of diamonds.
The auction was quite different at the other table:

EAST		SOUTH		WEST		NORTH	
1C	1H	1C	1H	1C	1H	1C	1H
2C	2H	2C	2H	2C	2H	2C	2H
3C	3H	3C	3H	3C	3H	3C	3H

(1) I am not a supporter of waiting bids of this type. I would probably bid an immediate 4H on the North hand, following the principle of bidding what I think we can make. If West were to find the killing lead of the ace of clubs, I would consider myself unlucky.
(2) North might have made an

investigatory bid of 3C at this point, looking for 3NT if his partner held a club stop; there was an obvious danger of a club ruff in 4H when West began with the ace and jack of clubs.

Second, here is an interesting deal on which a bad trump break presented declarer with problems which we thought he might have overcome.
Dealer West: love all.

NORTH		WEST		EAST		SOUTH	
♠	8 4	♠	Q J 7 2	♠	6	♠	8 5 3 2
♥	J 10 8 7 4	♥	A 9	♥	Q 10 8 6 5	♥	4 3 2
♦	K J 4 2	♦	A 9 7	♦	3	♦	A K Q 6
♣	10 8	♣	J 9 7 5	♣	3	♣	A K Q 6

(1) East-West were playing a strong club system and West could not open 1C, which would show a strong hand, or 1S, which would show five.
(2) Pre-emptive.
West cashed the ace of diamonds and switched to a club, taken by dummy's ten. It was clear from the double that West held Q-J-x in trumps, so South continued by ruffing a diamond and leading the king of hearts to West's ace. Having won the heart return with the queen, he cashed two clubs and ruffed a club with dummy's eight of spades. He now had to decide whether West's remaining red card was a heart or a diamond. In practice, he tried to ruff a heart in the closed hand and went one down when West over-ruffed and exited with a diamond.

If declarer had inferred from East's failure to bid 4D that he was more likely to hold five diamonds than six, he could have made his doubled game. If he had ruffed a diamond in the crucial position described above he would have reached an end position in which he held ♠A-K-10-9 and West held ♠J-7-2. To cash the ace of spades and exit with the ten would have given him three of the last four tricks and ten tricks in all.

Rugby Union permits compensation payments

BROKEN TIME, the issue which has dogged Rugby Union since the Northern split in the 1890s, was resolved on Sunday when the International Board announced the revolutionary step of agreeing to provide financial compensation for players who lose earnings on international tours.

The Board have also given themselves the power to expel or suspend any player who, like South Africa over the rebel Cavaliers tour last summer, infringe IB regulations.

The proposals concerning broken time, thrashed out at the Board's three-day special meeting in London, were described by the chairman Les Blazey of New Zealand as "changing something that has been fundamental to the game for a hundred years".

But Blazey insisted all the Board countries wanted the game to remain amateur. "They are very

celve it. Players whose salaries continue to be paid by employers during a tour will receive only a relatively small personal allowance, plus a communications allowance to enable phone calls home.

South Africa's Board representatives, Danie Craven and Fritz Elz, have officially apologised for their country's handling of the Cavaliers' affair, and have given, "unconditionally and irrevocably, a solemn undertaking that there will not be a recurrence of any such unauthorised tour".

In addition the South African Rugby Board are taking steps to ensure greater control over their provincial unions. The Cavaliers' tour was organised by the Transvaal RU, and the SA Board found they did not have the constitutional power then to call it off.

Similarly the International Board, whose order to stop the

RUGBY UNION: David Frost reports on a revolutionary step in the amateur-professional dispute

major alterations," he said, "but there is no intention for this to lead to professional rugby. Players will not be paid for playing."

The amount of broken-time compensation has yet to be worked out, but Blazey said that there would be no means test. The scale of the flat-rate payment is likely to be based on the minimum wage of the touring country concerned.

Broken-time payments to tour players will not take place immediately. The Board's recommendations will be sent out for individual consideration by all eight member countries — the four home unions, New Zealand, South Africa, Australia, and France. It is hoped the recommendations will become law at the Board's next annual meeting in March.

Not everyone will be pleased. Some countries wanted broken-time compensation to apply to players attending big matches in their own countries; others wanted little or no change in the regulations which date from Victorian times and led to the North of England to the Northern Rugby League. But the meeting eventually reached a consensus from which no country desisted.

The compensation will only go to players who are on a tour lasting at least 21 days, and only those who can demonstrate they will lose money through touring will re-

rebel tour was not complied with, did not then have the constitutional power to punish South Africa. Other matters discussed by the IB included whether players should be allowed to accept money for taking part in such events as "Superstars", under what conditions former Rugby League professionals could be reinstated as amateur Rugby Union players; and the possibility of a "free gateway" between RU and amateur RL.

At the end of the first week of qualifying for the World Cup in men's hockey at Willesden, London, the one certain feature was that Pakistan and India would fail to enter the semi-final stages for the first time. As world and Olympic champions, Pakistan had been favourites for the World Cup in the game's centenary year, but during the opening week they never recovered from their surprise defeat by Argentina in their first match and went on to lose to the Netherlands, 2-1. They recovered in beating New Zealand 5-3 for their first win, but at the weekend went down 3-1 to England in their first game.

With one match to play, Pakistan were thus fated not to qualify from Group One for the final stages. And victory for England, who had earlier in the week beaten Argentina 2-1 before losing 1-0 to the Soviet Union, opened the prospect of their being one of the two qualifiers.

At the end of the week, England led Group One with six points from their four games on goal difference from the Netherlands, who also have only played three games. Third are the Soviet Union, who have four points from their three games, and Pakistan (four) have two points while New Zealand are pointless after three matches.

Australia, now rated favourites for the title, led Group Two with seven points, one ahead of West Germany and two ahead of Poland. At the weekend, Australia crushed India 6-0 to end their interest in qualifying, like Pakistan, for the first time.

SOCCER RESULTS

TODAY LEAGUE, FIRST DIVISION: Arsenal 3, Watford 1; Aston Villa 3, Southampton 1; Charlton 3, Everton 2; Leicester 3, Nottingham Forest 1; Liverpool 0, Tottenham 1; Luton 0, Norwich 0; Manchester United 3, Sheffield Wednesday 1; Newcastle 3, Manchester City 1; Oxford United 2, Coventry 0; QPR 2, Wimbledon 1; West Ham 0, Chelsea 3.

SECOND DIVISION: Barnley 2, Bradford 0; Blackburn 0, West Bromwich 1; Bury 1, Hull 1; Grimsby 1, Plymouth 1; Ipswich 1, Brighton 0; Leeds 3, Crystal Palace 0; Millwall 4, Brentford 0; Oldham 1, Sunderland 1; Portsmouth 2, Birmingham 0; Sheffield United 3, Reading 3; Stoke 2, Huddersfield 0.

THIRD DIVISION: Bristol City 3, York 0; Bury 2, Doncaster 0; Carlisle 0, Darlington 0; Chesterfield 2, Port Vale 0; Fulham 0, Swindon 2; Mansfield 1, Brentford 0; Middlesbrough 1, Blackpool 3; Newport 1, Plymouth 1; Torquay 3, Oxford 0; Walsley 3, Bolton 3; Wigan 4, Bristol Rovers 3.

FOURTH DIVISION: Aldershot 1, Rochdale 1; Preston 2, Lincoln 0; Peterborough 2, Bury 0; Exeter 2, Cambridge United 0; Stockport v Northampton postponed; Swansea 1, Southport 0; Walsley 3, Walsley 1; Wrexham 3, Cardiff 1; Plymouth 1, Torquay 3; Oxford 0, Walsley 3; Haverhill 0, Southend 1; Colchester 1.

PRESS FIVE SCOTLAND LEAGUE, PREMIER DIVISION: Aberdeen 2, Dundee United 0; Clydebank 0, Hamilton 1; Dundee 0, Celtic 0; Hearts 0, St Mirren 0; Motherwell 2, Falkirk 3; Rangers 3, Hibernian 0.

FIRST DIVISION: Arbroath 0, East Fife 3; Clyde 1, Dunfermline 0; Forfar 3, Dundee 0; Montrose 0, Kilmarnock 2; Morton 2, Brechin 3; Queen of South 1, Perth 0.

SECOND DIVISION: Ayr 1, Stenhousemuir 0; Brechin 2, Arbroath 0; East Stirling 1, Albion 2; Montrose 4, Ayr 0; Queen of South 1, Cowden 1; Dundee 2, St Johnstone 2; Brechin 1, Brechin 1.

ENGLISH soccer had two culture shocks last week. The first, on the pitch, was the defeat at home for Liverpool, the champions, by Tottenham Hotspur. It was for Tottenham only their second success at

MOTOR RACING: Frank Keating reports from Mexico

Mansell must cool his heels

most lovely cure of all."

At the end of the day, the story — totally unconvincing — must remain with Mansell's thrilling run after his outrageously bad beginning. He was in third place on the grid, but in 18th round the first lap. His drive, in the end, will surely put him in good heart for Adelaide, in spite of the disappointment at not clinching the thing here. His tenacity and calm gumption, not to say his speed, was really something to write home about.

Alain Prost was second, and he too can still win the championship in Australia. Ayrton Senna was third. Mansell could not see the bright side as he got out of the cockpit: "It was a bloody awful race. I just want to forget it. At the start, I thought the car was in first but it just wouldn't go. I had to start in second."

By the first circuit Mansell, having started in third position, was an horrendous 18th. Piquet, his Williams team mate, catapulted past Senna in the Lotus, followed by Berger (Benetton) and Prost in the senior McLaren. Tambay's Lola never got round the first circuit.

Mansell manfully attempted to pick up the pieces, gaining just under a second a lap on the leaders through to the 10th circuit. By that time he had picked up eight places.

Apart from the disastrous splutter in Mansell's engine, the start was electric. Thunderously so, with 26 cars going from 0 to 200mph in 10 seconds. And oh,

dearie me, the noise!

Senna, in the black and gold, kept on Piquet's tail through the first 20 laps, Prost hanging on calmly.

Mansell had a pit-stop at the end of the 12th, and came back on to the track in 18th place, just behind Palmer in his Zakspeed. He again picked up momentum slowly, but by a third of the way through he was motorising again, gaining three seconds on the leaders in two laps between 18 and 21.

By lap 30 Mansell was ninth, 1min 7sec off the lead — a long, long way at this speed.

With 15 laps left Berger, who had been placidly aware that his Pirelli tyres would last the whole race, smoothly moved through the leaders. Suddenly he was seeing the panic through his driving mirror.

Behind him there was a helluva race going on. Lap 57 was a striking one — Prost, a lap ahead of course, was suddenly now the sandwich between the two Williamses. Piquet ahead but looking uneasy, Mansell striving to overtake Prost and launch a real dash at his team mate and rival.

Prost was well, and a real private race within a race seemed on. But with just three laps left, first Johansson's Ferrari blew up (when he was lying fourth) and then Patrese's Brabham slid off and to all intents out of it. Mansell had retrieved much, and should go to Adelaide in reasonable heart.

WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP STANDINGS — (After 18 grand prix): 1. M. Mansell (Williams-Honda) 70pts; 2. A. Prost (McLaren-Honda) 64pts; 3. N. Piquet (Williams-Honda) 63pts.

England and Australia in strong position in hockey's World Cup

Anfield in 74 years and coincided with the first appearance for them of Cleasen, signed from Belgium's Standard Leige for £800,000. The win saw Tottenham leapfrog over Liverpool into third place in the First Division, where Nottingham Forest's leadership was surrendered to Norwich City. For City it was only the second time at the top in their history and it followed their 0-0 draw at Luton Town, which brings us to the second culture shock.

Luton have been at the head of attempts to tackle hooliganism among spectators by refusing entry to home games for away team supporters. They do this by issuing

Alan Dunn's DIARY

membership cards to their own supporters, but they ran into trouble when the Football League insisted that they had to admit away supporters if they were to stay in the knockout League Cup competition, now sponsored by Littlewoods, the pools firm.

Last week 60 of the 92 League chairmen voted to ban Luton from the cup after the club had refused an offer to stage their matches on neutral grounds. The Football League have agreed to the experiment in League matches, but felt that the lack of away support gave Luton too much advantage in knockout competitions. But three days later the Football Association, the game's ruling body, ruled that Luton could bar away supporters in the major knockout competition, the FA Cup.

The Government has now given League clubs six weeks to come forward with suggestions on creating membership schemes at all clubs.

RUGBY LEAGUE welcomed the season's star tourists, Australia, Warrington.

SPAIN'S young golfing pretender Jose-Maria Olazabal continued his extraordinary triumph passage through his rookie year as a professional by winning the Barcelona Open at the weekend with a total of 273, three ahead of Britain's Howard Clark. Olazabal, aged 20, won the £30,000 first prize to bring his earnings in his first season to £131,000 and two events still to come.

AT THE end of the first week of yacht racing off Fremantle, Australia, to find the challenger for the America's Cup series, the United States had two boats in the first four. At the head was Stars and Stripes, followed by New Zealand, America II, and White Crusader, who had been under challenge for a prodigious time.

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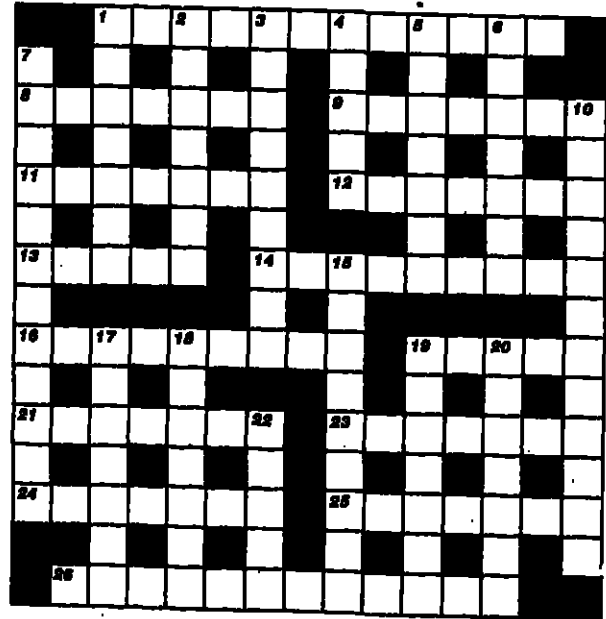
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7	Ford Escort 1.6	£139	£179	8	Peugeot 505 Turbo 1.6	£145	£184
9	Peugeot 505 Turbo 2.0	£137	£158	10	Peugeot 505 Turbo 2.0	£189	£267
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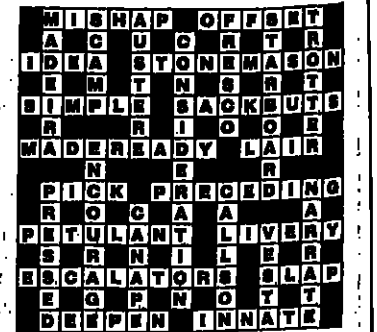


ACROSS

- Partly waxed till the end of March? (5, 7)
- Rough cowl on chimney? (7)
- Pur against the devil about 500 with a pillow and a board? (3, 4)
- Striding actors are evoked? (7)
- Old language of a sheep with the reverse of intelligence? (7)
- Mass of the first order? (6)
- Swearing at meat in Howard's place? (9)
- Catches in genuine practice? (9)
- I fled in disorder from Cuba? (5)
- Bearing left from landing-place? (7)
- Address your company command properly or you'll get a blow? (7)
- Boy who is loving and giving makes one shudder? (7)
- Electroplated stone, rendered by sculptor? (7)
- Integers in general anaesthetics? (5, 7)

DOWN

- Vagrant late for treatment by mistake? (7)
- Hire again, free? (7)
- Siren indicating temperature at lock? (9)
- Mother's Union's back to front attire casts a shadow? (5)
- Hot and inflamed at police? Must be changed on map! (2-5)
- English trees? Nonsense! (7)
- A second drink, and we'll see how they live! (3, 5, 4)
- Implicated with no difference, as between 26 and 1 across or 7, possibly? (7, 5)
- No seats left in old train, going fast? (4, 5)
- Port which is built round a river? (7)
- Stimulation of feline-purro alkaloids? (7)
- Anticipate payment — poet's gold's included? (7)
- Lady losing point due for game? (7)
- Saw work for 9 coming up? (5)



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Vol. 135 No. 17 Week ending October 26, 1986

More than just the leader is lost

THE DEATH of President Samora Machel of Mozambique in an air crash is another catastrophe for his long-suffering country, whose compound difficulties have now been made even worse. As an African leader his period in office of more than 11 years was exceptional, but his Presidency was just as unusual for its quality as its quantity. Among his more remarkable achievements as the leader of a regime formally committed to a Marxist-Leninist system (pragmatically adjusted in recent years) was the minor miracle of winning considerable personal sympathy from Mrs Thatcher when they met in London last year. This led to limited but useful and much-needed British military aid, extended significantly last week, against protracted internal rebellion. Mr Machel also preserved his dignity and domestic power-base unscathed during his impossibly difficult but unavoidable attempt to come to terms with South Africa. It is no fault of his that the ensuing Nkomati Accord of March 1984 failed to stick: the evidence of Pretoria's perfidy is overwhelming.

The dominant part of Samora Machel's Presidency was his country's desperate need

for a breathing space which it has never been allowed to enjoy. The mass flight of European settlers and immediate involvement willy nilly in the struggle for power in neighbouring Rhodesia on Mozambique independence in 1975 inaugurated a multiple crisis which has never let up. The emergence of independent Zimbabwe to the west should have brought relief, but Mozambique began almost at once to be drawn deeper and deeper into the struggle against apartheid across the southern border. The new threat showed itself in the same guise as the old: Renamo, the Mozambican National Resistance, invented by the Rhodesians to counter Mozambique's aid of Zimbabwean guerrillas, was revived by South Africa to counter Mozambique's support for the African National Congress. Renamo's artificiality is best demonstrated by the un-African fact that to this day it has no known leader. All this has unfolded against a background of unrelenting natural disaster — floods and drought, pestilence and famine.

Nkomati, not far from where the aircraft came down, could have provided the longed-for breather, but Pretoria's double-denial ensured that Mozambique was still denied

it. The deepening Renamo crisis led to a series of emergency meetings this month between Mr Machel and the leaders of other front-line states, and it was on his return from one of these that he died. In that sense the cause of the crash. Small wonder that the South African President and Foreign Minister reacted with such uncharacteristic sensitivity. The crash was in any case a disaster for Mozambique and for black Africa in general: the fact that it occurred on South African soil makes it a disaster for Pretoria as well, whether the Messers Botha like it or not.

Samora Machel, regardless of his politics, proved himself to be a reasonable man with whom an honourable bargain could have been struck had the South Africans been inclined. Pretoria's treachery, its recent threats and drastic economic action against Mozambique make it impossible for his successor to trust Pretoria, whatever he is obliged to do by Mozambique's acute vulnerability to South African destabilisation.



President Samora Machel of Mozambique (above), who died in a plane crash this week. There have been accusations of South African involvement in his death. (Story, page 6)

Helping Reagan off the hook

THE OFFERS on the table in Iceland, American as well as Soviet, transcend anything which arms control has had to show before. No medium-range missiles in Europe, for a start. No Mosewitsch, no Greenham Common, no SS-20s pointing our way, no Pershing II in Germany within reach of the Soviet Union. Beyond that, a drastic cut in strategic arsenals in precisely the format — and this is novel in the extreme — which the Americans have stipulated at Geneva. Mr Gorbachev has taken the point, and it seems likely the Americans have too, that the intricacies of basing modes for the strategic arsenals — whether they are land, sea, or air-launched — are really so much scholasticism, and that all that matters is scaling down the numbers to as near zero as possible since they are never going to be used.

Now Mr Viktor Karpov may have jumped the gun in suggesting in London that the Euro-missiles (INF) were separable from the American Space Defence Programme

(SDI). "Negotiations" are still separable, Moscow said last week; but the package is the package. We shall have to see. There is no logical connection between INF and the Star Wars programme because that programme is not even designed, let alone able, to give protection from medium-range missiles in Europe. But there is a logical connection between offensive and defensive forces, and Mr Gorbachev's point is the simple one that if the offensive weapons have gone — that rapidly became the aim at Reykjavik — a defence against them is no longer needed. At least, therefore, the scale of the Strategic Defence Initiative, if not the principle becomes negotiable. The Russians have a rudimentary SDI system to protect Moscow, as allowed under the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. It has none of the laser-powered, heat-seeking splendour of Mr Reagan's fantastic imaginings but it demonstrates that even SDI need not be all or nothing.

What is immediately at stake, though, is

the interpretation of the ABM treaty itself. Mr Shultz must not be allowed to forget that he promised European defence ministers last year that the US would stay within the narrow interpretation of that treaty. That rules out the ex-laboratory testing which was at issue at Reykjavik. Mrs Thatcher, also, in Washington, has said that the SDI programme must be governed by the ABM treaty. There is no enthusiasm for the concept anywhere in Europe, and precious little in the US itself among scientists and former defence secretaries. Its opponents now have a following wind. Mr Gorbachev has played his hand on the SDI in such a way that a retreat from it by the US does not become a diplomatic defeat. Congress can make it simply good housekeeping. There is too much at stake now for European governments to go on acquiescing simply to humour the old man (especially, sordid thought, as there is going to be no money in it). Like Mr Gorbachev, they should help him off the hook.

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Thatcher to take missile fears to Washington

MRS THATCHER flies to Washington next month to tell President Reagan of Europe's growing fears that a superpower deal on offensive weapons will undermine the deterrence strategy which has kept the peace in Europe for 40 years.

Mrs Thatcher is said to be privately dismayed about the potentially sweeping agreements reached in Iceland, which fly in the face of the Conservative stand on Nato and defence issues in the election campaign run-up. "It's as if the summit leaders had adopted the Labour Party policy," one well-placed diplomatic source in Washington said.

The British Government is said to harbour deep doubts about the strategic risks involved in a 10-year pact to eliminate ballistic missiles, as well as on US efforts to broaden the terms of Star Wars testing.

Britain may be reassured on Star Wars by claims in Washington that the Russians, having failed in Iceland, may now be ready to offer a deal which keeps to the traditional interpretation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, under which some ground-based tests are permitted.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, continuing the Administration's public relations offensive on American television, hinted strongly that Moscow was showing some signs of compromise on Star Wars in the wake of Reykjavik. A new formula under which the Soviet Union would allow some ground-based Star Wars testing was seen as offering some promise.

Mr Shultz remained surprisingly optimistic on the possibility of accords with Moscow, saying that he and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze,

would use a likely meeting in Vienna next month to try to tie up agreements on limiting intermediate-range missiles in Europe and a step-by-step approach towards a comprehensive test ban treaty.

He seemed to encourage the notion that it was possible to detach these from a comprehensive

package, despite Moscow's comments to the contrary.

The apparent concerns of Mrs Thatcher and the West German Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, who visits Washington this week, have been shared in the US. There have been questions on whether Mr Reagan and his aides were fully aware of the implication of their outline deal on offensive nuclear weapons.

As the rightwing commentator, Charles Krauthammer put it: "By

proposing to eliminate all US long-range missiles (after agreeing to remove all intermediate-range missiles from Europe), what is left of the US strategic guarantee to Europe, a guarantee on which the Western alliance hinges. Said George Shultz: 'I would say no means sell our ability short to hold our end up in providing conventional deterrence.' But West Berlin has not remained West for 40 years because of conventional deterrence."

Seeking to clear up the confusion, the National Security Adviser, Admiral John Poindexter, said that the outline agreement on strategic missiles fall into two parts.

In the first five years, both sides would include a "50 per cent reduction in all our strategic weapons," and, in the second five-year period, there would be a 100 per cent elimination of all ballistic

missiles. This would leave a rump of bombers and air-launched cruise missiles.

David Fairhall adds: Nato's defence ministers meet at Glen Eagles, in Scotland, this week, to confront the disconcerting fact that their nuclear bluff has been called by the Kremlin, but by their own leadership in Washington.

After years of complacent talk about the so-called zero option, which involves removing cruise and Pershing 2 missiles from Europe provided the Russians do the same with their SS-20s, minds have been abruptly concentrated by an agreement in Reykjavik to do just that.

Only the unresolved disputes over Star Wars prevented President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev shaking hands on a bold measure of disarmament. Nato's military

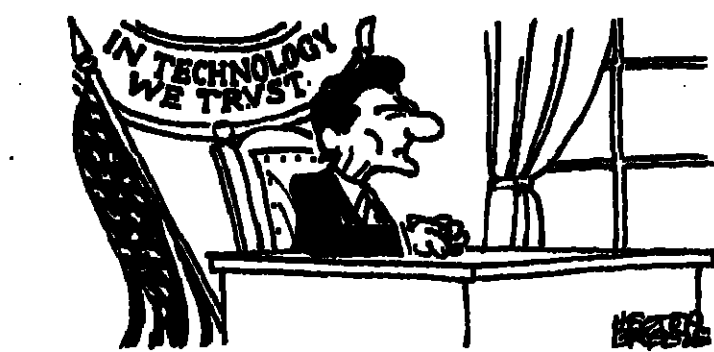
Continued on page 10

The American fantasy of salvation

It now looks as if technicism will lead to the destruction of mankind, inevitably: this is the message of Reykjavik. The word comes from some psychoanalytical writing, and diagnoses the capacity of human beings to believe that machines can solve all their problems, so leading to an idolisation of the technical.

All the scientists I talk to tell me that Star Wars can never work, and a large group of United States scientists has declared as much. Every month brings news of some profound breakdown of machines: the catastrophe of the shuttle, rockets that blow up or go off course; nuclear bombs which are dropped by mistake; nuclear reactors which explode or go wrong. With many tens of thousands of nuclear weapons being moved around and practised with, it is only a matter of time before there is a cataclysm with one of these.

Yet still, chillingly, talks about limiting all this insane multiplication of instruments of death founders on President Reagan's fantasy of salvation by some new



machine, his psychopathological technicism.

Of course it is fuelled by those corporations of death — as Jules Henry called them in *Culture against Man* — which are profiting from the arms race, but they are deranged fantasies all the same.

And now it seems as if the economic life of "Western democracies" cannot keep going unless they serve the maddening progress of this psychopathological dream of salvation by mechanical device. Who can come between the dragon

and his wrath, and expose the idiosyncrasy?

David Holbrook,
Brunswick Gardens,
Cambridge.

It has been a bad few weeks for the truth, at least as it is pronounced by the Reagan administration.

Its chief spokesman at the State Department, Bernard Kalb, resigned after hearing of the disinformation campaign — otherwise read "lies" — waged by the National Security Affairs adviser Admiral Poindexter against Libya, as Bob Woodward detailed.

Reports on the Daniloff affair now reveal that Nick Daniloff was not quite as clean as the outraged US Administration first made out. At best he seems to have operated as a naive conduit of information for the CIA in its attempt to link up with Soviet dissidents.

After the Nicaraguans shot down a plane carrying guns to the Contras, the US administration immediately denied any knowledge of the activities or role of the captured survivor, Eugene Hasenfus. But bit by bit the truth is emerging to contradict this wish

Upright Kenyans

I fear I may have some sad news for Mr Hatterley (October 5). He may belong in the same class as his tweedy doctor: for his condition is, I suspect, specific rather than generic. The class is that of Homo Technocrat, a relative of Homo Sapiens that has attempted to replace human endeavour with machinery.

Here in Kenya bad backs are not common. Any rural ten-year-old knows from his or her mother that baby's neck must not be allowed to flop and its back must be kept

Vice-President Bush now clearly implicated.

All this is topped off by President Reagan's comments at the US airbase at Keflavik, as he left Iceland: "The Soviet Government insisted we sign an agreement that would deny me and future US Presidents for 10 years the right to develop, test, and deploy a defence against nuclear missiles for the people of the free world. This we could not and will not do."

What is important about this presidential commitment is that it clearly refers to a future role of Star Wars exclusively to offer security for the West alone, or what he calls "the free world." It is no wonder that the Soviet negotiating team and Mr Gorbachev were sceptical in the extreme about Mr Reagan's position.

The failure at Reykjavik now means that his vision of a technical fix to the arms race through the SDI will again take precedence over the sane alternative: deep and urgent cuts in the 50,000 plus warheads already in existence globally.

David Lowry,
European Proliferation
Information Centre,
London N1.

Les Coppin (Letters, September 28) asks "could Labour possibly dispense with cruise and US bases and stay in Nato?"

Norway is in Nato and has consistently rejected all nuclear weapons and foreign bases on her soil. Obviously Britain could do the same. Everyone has a right to their opinions, but let's get our facts right.

G. Murray-Brown,
Masera, Lesotho.

Why Andeans need coca

Re: "Britain faces cocaine peril" by Paul Keel (September 28); while it is true that "any international intervention to persuade the peasant farmers to grow substitute crops was pointless," in fact it is the people who distill the cocaine into illegal stiffs who make the money, not the "peasant farmers."

Coca growing is legal in Bolivia and has been for centuries because Andean Indians chew it in much the same way that Westerners have a morning cup of coffee or tea. Cocaine, a central nervous stimulant like caffeine, is only one of the 14 alkaloids present in coca leaves.

Coca chewing helps combat the fatigue of high altitude, and solid research by Canadian anthropologist Dr. Roderick Burchard, of the University of Manitoba, shows that coca chewing flattens out glucose curves in a diet and environment which have great diabetic potential.

The key to the cocaine issue is really a case of corruption of a product which Burchard contends is crucial to the Andeans' wellbeing. It would be tragic if the First World's inability to deal with the cocaine issue resulted in the Andean Indians being denied access to coca leaves.

Isabel Nanton,
4633 West 8th Ave.,
Vancouver, B.C.

Chinese chew

With the visit of the Queen to the People's Republic of China, a few words from a 17th century German philosopher would seem appropriate to the malaise of 20th century western civilisation.

After studying Chinese philosophy, the comic-minded Leibnitz wrote: "The condition of affairs among ourselves is such that in view of the inordinate lengths to which the corruption of morals has advanced, I almost think it necessary that Chinese missionaries should be sent to us to teach us the aim and practice of national theology..." For I believe that if a wise man were to be appointed judge of the goodness of peoples, he would award the golden apple to the Chinese.

(Dr) Chuang Tze-Lai,
Steeton,
W. Yorkshire.

Catalogue of decay reveals unemployment will stay above 3m

By James Naughtie

THE Government assumes that the number of unemployed will stay well above three million until at least 1990, and that the crumbling infrastructure will continue to deter economic growth, according to figures submitted to the European Commission.

The working assumptions which the Government insists are not forecasts are revealed in a 17-volume report on regional development completed in the summer, which was not intended for general release and which is overwhelmingly gloomy in tone.

It was obtained from the Department of Trade and Industry by Mr Gordon Brown, Labour's regional spokesman, who described it on Monday as the private confessions of failed monetarists who had turned Britain's regions into economic exclusion zones.

The report's figures are intensely embarrassing to the Government, which has been engaged in a "good news" campaign about job creation. The analysis by the Department of Employment and the Department of Trade and Industry suggests that there is no reason to hope for an unemployment figure under 3.1 million by 1990.

Its picture of economic depression, social deprivation, and the prediction of more job losses in traditional industries, is a political gift to the Opposition parties as Parliament resumes after the summer recess.

The report, UK Regional Development Programme 1986-90, reveals that government policy has failed to reverse the decline of the regions.

A DTI spokesman said that the figures were not forecasts of employment, which the Government believed were unreliable, but only working assumptions. The document itself states: "The UK Government does not believe it is either sensible or practicable to make forecasts of national unemployment for several years ahead."

However, the analysis of the prospects of the regions — and Scotland and Wales — is detailed. The document is littered with warnings of job losses to come, and of the need for private and public investment to improve infrastructure if new jobs are to be created.

Of the North-east, it says: "The present high levels of unemployment are unacceptable, but the situation will not improve until a number of more fundamental problems are resolved."

These include the overall weak economic structure, inadequate infrastructure, environmental deterioration, the high number of unqualified compared with qualified workers, inadequate health, education and training services.

Mr Brown said: "The regional projections contained in the reports are a grim admission that the country is divided into two separate economies. Prospects for reducing unemployment range from 'gloomy' and 'frighteningly bleak' to impossible until fundamental problems requiring more public spending are resolved."

The report notes that continuing restraint on public spending has resulted in inadequate resources

for public works and consequent damage to industry and job-creation.

In Greater Manchester, there is "decay and obsolescence" far in excess of the level of resources which are available.

For the West Midlands, the report's conclusions are no more cheerful. "These features suggest little prospect of an improvement in the region's basic unemployment problem in the period between now and the end of this decade."

The assumption for 1990 is that of a civilian labour force of 27,880,000, unemployed claimants (excluding adult students, school leavers and those temporarily stopped from working) will amount to 3,117,000.

Peter Hildrew writes: Official poverty figures issued in July underestimated the number of people on low incomes, the Child Poverty Action Group and the Low Pay Unit argue in a paper delivered to MPs this week.

The government figures, placed in the Commons library just after the summer recess, showed that by 1983 over 18 million people were living in poverty or on its margins — an increase of 42 per cent over 1970.

The CPAG report says that the situation is even worse today, partly due to a "steady stream of benefit cuts." A further 223,000 people have also been added to the unemployment total since 1983, and the number who have been without a job for over a year has climbed by 265,000.

The report shows that nearly 2.8 million people were living below the basic supplementary benefit level or "poverty line" in 1983, a 33 per cent increase over 1979.

The Rising Tide of Poverty. Low Pay Unit, 8 Upper Berkeley Street, London, W1H 8BY, or CPAG, 1 Macklin Street, London, WC2B 5NH. £2.00.

Life support may be cut for mother in coma

By Andrew Veltch

TESTS began on Monday to determine whether Mrs Deborah Bell, who gave birth to a baby girl five weeks after going on a life support machine, should be allowed to die.

The baby, Nicola, who weighs 11b 4oz and was delivered by Caesarean section almost three months prematurely, was stable in an incubator in Middlesbrough Maternity Hospital's special care unit.

"The first week will be critical," said Dr John Drury, the hospital's general manager. "The baby has a fair chance of survival, but she is very premature and very small. If she comes through the first week without problems she will have a good chance of pulling through."

Doctors now have to decide whether to switch off Mrs Bell's ventilator. In a series of tests performed in Department of Health guidelines, they will check for reactions to pain, sight, and sound. If there are none, she will be declared brain-dead.

Brain-death tests had not been carried out before the birth because there might have been some risk to the unborn baby, said Dr Drury.

Mrs Bell, aged 24, a secretary, of Darlington, County Durham, was 24 weeks pregnant when she suffered a brain haemorrhage.

Lawson under pressure over rise in interest rates

THE Government finally bowed to market pressures last week and agreed to an increase of one per cent in interest rates to 11 per cent. But there are strong indications that this may not be enough to stabilise the pound and that another increase may soon be inevitable.

Market confidence was hardly improved by weekend figures which showed an increase in the inflation rate last month from 2.4 to three per cent. Dearer mortgages and business loans will increase inflationary pressure in the months ahead and further undermine Britain's trading competitiveness. Even at 11 per cent, British interest rates are now five percentage points higher than in Germany, and nearly three points higher than in France.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, making his annual speech at London's Mansion House, brushed aside City criticism that his economic policy was off course. Prospects for output and jobs were good, he said. The successful reduction of inflation spoke for itself. Economic and monetary policy would remain unchanged.

The most significant omission from his speech was any reference to the European Monetary System, the club of European countries which intervene in the foreign exchange markets to keep their currencies within an agreed range of each other. Mr Lawson is now said to be convinced of the merits of joining the EMS but the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, remains stubbornly opposed and generally manages to avoid mentioning the subject at all.

The present members of the EMS would regard Britain's joining as a long overdue political commitment to the European Economic Community. Even Labour, which cares no more about Europe than does Mrs Thatcher, has finally abandoned its hostility to EMS, though the Shadow Chancellor, Mr Roy Hattersley, entered the caveat last week that Britain should not

try to negotiate entry while the pound was under pressure.

Officially, the Government's attitude is that it does not object to the EMS in principle, but that "the time is not yet right" to join. It has never volunteered any clue as to what it would regard as the "right" time. The mounting pressure to join, however, will gain further momentum if the latest rise in the interest rate fails to reduce pressure on the pound.

The one good bit of news for the Government was the relatively low rise of 52,000 in unemployment in September. After excluding seasonal factors and the influx of school-leavers on to the unemployment register, the adjusted adult total actually fell by 22,000, the largest drop since Mrs Thatcher's Government was elected in 1979. This compares with a seasonally

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN

by James Lewis

adjusted rise during the past half-year of nearly 10,000 a month. However, according to figures submitted to the EEC, the Government assumes that the jobsless total will remain above the three million at least until 1990. (See this page).

The Government's job-cutting zeal was, indirectly, responsible for chaotic scenes at London's Heathrow airport, where some 3,000 arrivals from India and Bangladesh clogged up the international terminal and had to be housed in police cells, detention centres and former military camps for up to a week while immigration officers checked their credentials. A similar number of relatives slept rough in the arrivals lounges for up to four days and threatened to bring the terminal to a standstill.

The saga began when immigration officers, whose numbers have been reduced for reasons of economy, complained that they were unable to cope with the workload. Instead of recruiting more officers the Cabinet decided, against the

advice of the Foreign Office, that visitors from India, Bangladesh, Ghana, Nigeria and Pakistan, would no longer be admitted unless they had visas approved in their country of origin. The new rules took effect in India and Pakistan last week — hence the rush to beat the deadline — and will be imposed on the African countries later this year.

The whole sordid spectacle resulted in widespread criticism of, at best, Government incompetence and, at worst, racism, since the new rules only affect coloured nations and do not apply to Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians or Americans. Bangladesh has already threatened to impose retaliatory visa requirements on British visitors and the other four countries may well follow suit. In the meantime British MPs, who have now lost the right to intervene on behalf of visitors unjustly threatened with deportation, will complain to the Speaker, when Parliament resumes, about what they see as a denial of a constitutional right.

A 76-year-old Catholic woman and her adopted son were shot dead at their isolated farmhouse in Ulster by the outlawed Protestant paramilitary group, the Ulster Freedom Fighters. Mrs Kathleen Mullan and her son, Terrence, aged 31, were found in the hallway of their home in County Down. The UFF claimed that Mr Mullan was a loid officer in the IRA, but Sinn Féin, the political arm of the IRA, said he was not connected with the Republican movement.

Mr Enoch Powell, the former Tory Cabinet minister who is now Unionist MP for South Down, claimed in an extraordinary week-end speech that the British Foreign Office and military intelligence were conspiring with the United States to bring about a united Ireland inside the NATO alliance. He suggested that, twenty years ago, Washington had "secured from Britain an undertaking to organise the transfer of Northern Ireland out of the United Kingdom into an all-Ireland state."

According to the Powell theory, the Americans were responsible for the murder of Airey Neave, Mrs Thatcher's close friend and shadow Northern Ireland spokesman, who was blown up in his car as he drove away from the Commons in 1978. They were alarmed, he said, by evidence or what was thought to be evidence — that Mrs Thatcher and Mr Neave had no intention of moving towards an united Ireland.

Mr Powell is, of course, no stranger to controversy, usually over race, and he had to be escorted to safety last week when a group of anarchists broke up a meeting which he was due to address at Bristol University. Freedom of speech is no longer a right to be expected at many universities, and Mr Powell's was one of a number of meetings to have been broken up.

Mr Nigel de Gruchy, deputy general of the NAS/JWT, said: "It is not prolonged industrial action but we want to use it to show management that Coventry will not provide a long-term solution."

The leader of the Labour-led local authority employers, Mr John Pearman, described the strike call as incredible, disgraceful and immoral.

Mr Baker also criticised the decision: "It is an act of high irresponsibility for professional people to inflict suffering on children in this way," he said.

Teachers to stage week of half-day pay strikes

By Sarah Boseley

SCHOOLS will be hit again in the new term as the second largest teachers' union, the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, on Monday instructed its 129,000 members to go on half-day strikes in the week beginning November 3.

The local authority employers said it was inevitable that children would be sent home from school. The strike call came as the Government is moving towards direct intervention to settle the pay row.

The strikes are intended to make the NAS/JWT's opposition felt in the week running up to negotiations in Nottingham on November 8, which the employers intended should set the final seal on a long-term deal with the teachers.

The strikes will be coordinated locally to coincide with rallies around the country beginning in London and ending in Birmingham.

The renewed disruption will spark calls for the Government to intervene, as it is understood to be poised to do. Mr Kenneth Baker, the Education Secretary, is thought to be ready to offer English and Welsh teachers the 16.4

per cent increase over the next 18 months recommended by the independent Main Inquiry for Scottish teachers.

He would have to commit himself to replacing the statutory Burnham pay negotiating committee, composed of local authority and teacher unions. The decision could lead to nationwide industrial action.

The NAS/JWT refused to sign the Coventry provisional pay deal agreed by the local authorities with all other unions in July. Now it says that the document has been effectively re-opened for negotiation by the other unions which want improvements in line with the Main report.

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THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY

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Africa's voice of freedom

NIGERIAN playwright Wole Soyinka has become the first black Nobel Literature prizewinner and the first African to gain the world's most prestigious literary award in its 85-year history. The Swedish Academy said Soyinka was given the \$200,000 prize because he "in a wide cultural perspective and with poetic overtones fashions the drama of existence". Soyinka, 52, is a Yoruba.

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Random breath tests could save lives

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Half a million people in the UK are dependent on alcohol. Fifteen per cent of men and 1 per cent of women admit to drinking at a level known to be harmful.

Deaths from alcohol-related liver disease have almost doubled since 1980. A quarter of all men admitted to hospital with acute conditions are suffering from alcohol related-illnesses. Drink is implicated in no less than 50 per cent of cases of wife-battering, 19 per cent of deaths by drowning, 39 per cent of deaths by fire, and 43 per cent of fatal falls.

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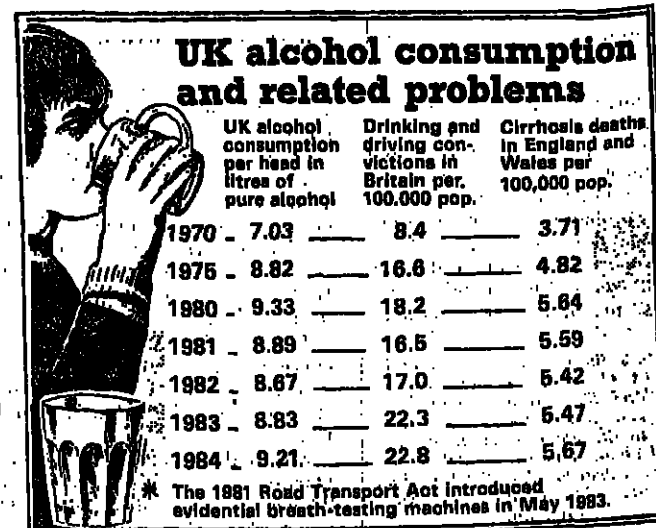
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By a Correspondent

A STORY in an American military magazine has heightened the controversy surrounding claims that the US government plans to abandon Holy Loch nuclear submarine base.

Despite denials from the Pentagon and the Ministry of Defence, the prestigious *Defense Week* reports that negotiations over the future of the Scottish base have already started.

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The announcement came as Jaguar, the luxury cars group, said that it had a full order book for its new XJ40 model until the spring of next year and Austin Rover announced orders of £1.6 million for its Montego cars.

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Britain's one million diabetics, and all those needing constant

supplies of drugs to survive, would be left to die.

The report would not be for or against civil defence, it would be a careful examination of the facts, Dr Dawson told the European symposium of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, meeting in Madrid.

"To duck the issue is to con the public," he said. "There is a cosy assumption put out by the Govern-

ment that treatment will be all right, we'll muddle through somehow, and Vera Lynn will be singing again."

The Government had no plans for selecting which of the millions of casualties of an attack should be treated, Dr Dawson said later, so the BMA would do it for them.

"We say there should be an open public discussion on the selection of casualties for treatment so we are setting up a working party to study it," he added.

With no health service, desperate shortages of blood, dressings, and drugs all resources would have to be concentrated on those who should contribute to the survival and possible regeneration of the community.

He said that the rest "should not be treated if they are injured, because to do so would be to waste resources."

The BMA's first report forced the Home Office to rethink its calculations of the numbers who would be killed in an attack. Civil defence plans are being revised to take account of data which suggests that a full scale attack would kill 26 million people — half the population of the UK — and not 14 million as the Home Office had previously assumed.

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UK alcohol consumption and related problems

	UK alcohol consumption per head in litres of pure alcohol	Drinking and driving convictions in Britain per 100,000 pop.	Cirrhosis deaths in England and Wales per 100,000 pop.
1970	7.03	8.4	3.71
1975	8.82	18.6	4.82
1980	9.33	18.2	5.64
1981	8.89	16.5	5.59
1982	8.87	17.0	5.42
1983	8.83	22.3	5.47
1984	8.21	22.8	5.67

The 1981 Road Transport Act introduced evidential breath-testing machines in May 1983.

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Britain's one million diabetics, and all those needing constant supplies of drugs to survive, would be left to die.

The report would not be for or against civil defence, it would be a careful examination of the facts, Dr Dawson told the European symposium of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, meeting in Madrid.

"To duck the issue is to con the public," he said. "There is a cosy assumption put out by the Government that treatment will be all right, we'll muddle through somehow, and Vera Lynn will be singing again."

The Government had no plans for selecting which of the millions of casualties of an attack should be treated, Dr Dawson said later, so the BMA would do it for them.

"We say there should be an open public discussion on the selection of casualties for treatment so we are setting up a working party to study it," he added.

With no health services, desperate shortages of blood, dressings, and drugs all resources would have to be concentrated on those who should contribute to the survival and possible regeneration of the community.

He said that the rest "should not be treated if they are injured, because to do so would be to waste resources."

The BMA's first report forced the Home Office to rethink its calculations of the numbers who would be killed in an attack. Civil defence plans are being revised to take account of data which suggests that a full scale attack would kill 26 million people — half the population of the UK — and not 16 million as the Home Office had previously assumed.

By Andrew Velth in Madrid

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INVESTMENT OFFSHORE? IT'S AS EASY AS RBC

THE WEEK

THE Duke of Edinburgh caused a stir in the British Press if not in China, as he described Peking as "ghostly" and warned British students studying in China that they could end up with "silly eyes".

The row came as the British royal party arrived in south-west China on the fourth day of their visit. The alleged remarks were made during a trip to the city of Xian, where Prince Philip took time to talk to students from Edinburgh University.

According to one of the students, Prince Philip, aged 71, from Leamington Spa, the Duke said: "If you stay here much longer you'll go back with silly eyes."

When Mr Kirby asked the Queen how she had enjoyed the Forbidden City — once a residence of emperors and now a museum — the Duke answered that it was "ghostly", but then explained that he had been referring to Peking.

However, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, said that there was no question of an apology for the remarks. The royal visit was untarnished and had been a great success all round, he said.

FIVE US diplomats were expelled from the Soviet Union for "activities incompatible with their status". In the absence of any Soviet foreign ministry explanation or any hint of espionage in the formal Tass statement, the expulsions were interpreted as the expected retaliation for the US decision to expel 26 Soviet diplomats from their UN mission in New York.

Meanwhile, David Goldfarb, a Soviet dissident who related pressure from the KGB to frame the American reporter, Nicholas Daniloff, was allowed to leave the Soviet Union for the United States, the State Department said.

MILLIONS of illegal aliens who entered the United States before January, 1982, can breathe a sigh of relief, as Congress last week took the final steps towards approval of legislation on immigration reform.

It would grant an amnesty to those who came to the US before that date in an effort to balance American economic interests against fears of a "brown tide" from Mexico and Central American countries.

The bill now awaits final Senate and Congress approval. Under its terms, those who missed the cut off date can apply for legal status in the 18-month period starting six months after the bill becomes law. After one year, lawful temporary residents, they could apply for permanent resident status, and after another five years they could apply for citizenship. The number of illegal aliens who might qualify for legal status under the bill is unknown. Estimates range from one to five million.

THOUSANDS of residents, flanked by Soviet and Afghan soldiers, and agents of the Afghan Khab security police cheered, threw flowers and shouted "asapalo" (Russian for "thank-you") as a regiment of departing Soviet soldiers paraded through the streets of Kabul on Monday. The regiment is one of six that the Soviet Union is withdrawing from Afghanistan this month in what has been presented as a goodwill gesture.

THE Nicaraguan Justice Ministry placed captured American airman, Mr Eugene Hasenfus, on trial on Monday, charged with violating national security. Mr Hasenfus faces up to 30 years in jail. He parachuted out of a burning cargo plane shot down by Sandinista troops over southern Nicaragua on October 5. The plane was loaded with arms and ammunition destined for US-backed contra rebels.

FOUR ex-servicemen, who spent 48 days fasting on the steps of the US Capitol, last week called off their vigil. One of the men was close to death and the campaign against the war in

Nicaragua had finally caught the attention of the politicians.

PRESIDENT HUSSAIN ERSHAD celebrated his disputed election victory by promising that he would try to lift martial law in Bangladesh by November 15, when he is due to leave for a South Asian summit conference in India.

PRESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO met Communist guerrilla leaders for the first time last week. A joint statement after the meeting said both sides are "open to the idea of a ceasefire" on the central Philippine island of Panay, 200 miles south-east of the capital.

KUWAIT'S insistence on a 10 per cent increase in its Opec output limit was still the main stumbling block to a production restraint agreement aimed at significantly increasing oil prices being negotiated on Monday.

THE Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, last week formed a new national unity government which was expected to be ratified by parliament this week. After Knesset approval, Mr Shamir, who leads the rightwing Likud bloc, will swap jobs with the Labour Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, under an unprecedented power-sharing accord signed when a 1984 general election ended in stalemate.

AN Israeli airman who was shot down over southern Lebanon has been captured by Shi'ite Amal militiamen and taken to Beirut, according to witnesses.

Two Israeli paratroopers from the Phantom fighter-bomber when it was shot down during a raid near Sidon last week. One of them, the pilot, was rescued but the second, the navigator, could not be found.

Israel warned the Amal militia not to harm the navigator, making it clear that it expects them to return him if he has fallen into their hands.

The Israeli raid was in retaliation to a hand grenade attack in Old Jerusalem in which one person died and 70 were injured.

Question marks remain over death of Samora Machel

THE Mozambican leadership, in announcing President Samora Machel's death on Monday, indirectly linked it to the assassination of Frelimo's first leader in 1969.

Saying that the plane in which the president died had crashed in circumstances which are not yet clarified, the Government statement broadcast on national radio recalled that Dr Eduardo Mondlane had been killed by "colonialism and its agents".

Although the statement forbore to blame South Africa directly for the crash, the recollection of an earlier tragedy was striking.

The mood in the Mozambican capital was sombre and calm. Groups of people discussed Mr Machel's death in hushed tones. The Government statement decreed 60 days of national mourning.

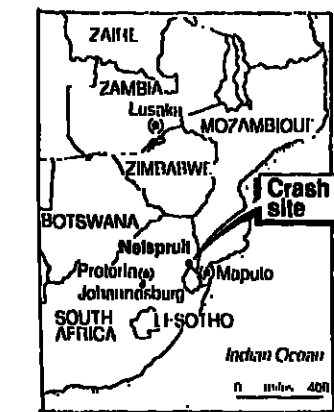
The radio statement said: "This is the second time that, under tragic circumstances, the Mozambique people have lost their top leader."

"When we were fighting for the liberation of our fatherland, colonialism and its agents assassinated President Eduardo Mondlane, in the hope that through this criminal act they could stop the development of the struggle for independence."

"In that moment of sorrow, we were able to unite around Frelimo, redouble our determination, and continue the struggle."

"This loss takes place at a particularly difficult moment in our history, when reactionary forces are aligned against our country to try to destroy our independence. Today, more than ever, our national independence requires the unity of all Mozambicans."

President P. W. Botha said: "South Africa has lost an influential ally in its efforts to develop the



economies of southern Africa." Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, hailed Mr Machel as "one of the greatest leaders of Africa".

Senior Mozambican officials flew to the crash site in a remote corner of South Africa, but there was no immediate word of the cause.

The most likely candidates to succeed the 53-year-old leader are the Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, and the newly appointed Prime Minister, Dr Mario Machungo.

By Paul Fauvet in Maputo

Chissano, and the newly appointed Prime Minister, Dr Mario Machungo.

Eye-witnesses at the crash site reported that mutilated bodies and twisted metal were all that was left of the Tupolev 134 jet. The plane was broken in two, with its four engines and other debris scattered across the barren hillsides.

Mr Pik Botha, who had rushed to the scene, told reporters that Mr Machel and at least 26 other people, including cabinet members, were killed. He said that 10 people on board survived.

President Machel's body, mutilated almost beyond recognition, was the first to be removed in a coffin. Several ministers were thought to be among the dead.

The plane came down only 35 miles from where Mr Machel came to make peace in 1984 with South Africa's white leaders, the first black African president to make such a move.

The wreckage was concentrated about a mile from the point of impact.

Bodies covered in blankets were sprawled in the area, part of the tribal homeland of KwaNgwane, less than a mile from the frontier with Mozambique.

"It hit the ground, went up again and reared over," Mr Botha said after visiting the scene. "It was a gruesome sight. President Machel's body was put in a coffin and will be taken to Mozambique."

The African National Congress general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, accused the South African Government of being directly or indirectly responsible for the death of President Machel.

"Either the South Africans directly have committed this crime, or their proxies the Mozambican National Resistance," he said.

"We are saying it is a deliberately committed crime until it is proved otherwise, because of the threats the apartheid regime has been making against Mozambique," he told a news conference in Oslo.

Mr Machel should have returned to Maputo at 9.30 on Sunday night from Zambia, where he had been attending a one-day summit meeting with Presidents Kaunda of Zambia, Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, and Mobutu of Zaire.

Mozambique's Transport and Communications Minister, Mr Alcantara Santos, and Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Jose Carlos Lopo, were aboard the plane. Mozambican embassy officials said in Lusaka.

According to diplomatic sources, one of the survivors was the Russian pilot.

South Africa signals regret

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICAN Government leaders expressed shock and regret at the death of President Samora Machel, implicitly but unmistakably signalling that their hands were clean.

These protestations of innocence were openly questioned by the United Democratic Front, South Africa's largest coalition of anti-apartheid organisations.

Mr Machel, who once labelled apartheid the Nazism of our time, was killed not far from the spot where a landmine, allegedly planted by Mozambique-based African National Congress guerrillas, injured six South African soldiers a fortnight ago. The expressions of "deep regret and profound shock" from President Botha and his Foreign Minister were dismissed as mere pretence by the UDF.

Mr P. W. Botha will have to do better than pretend that he is shocked and aggrieved at the terrible misfortune that has befallen one of the states' most prominent opponents of apartheid, the UDF said.

"If anything, what South Africa has been saying about and doing in Mozambique through its reasonable surrogates gives us reasonable grounds to suspect South African involvement in the plane crash."

The clearest sign of Pretoria's concern to counter suspicions that it may have sabotaged or shot down the plane was President Botha's invitation to experts from the International Aviation Association to participate in an investigation ordered by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

E. European groups' plea for freedom

By Misha Glenn in Vienna

THE opening shot in the commemoration of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, which broke out 30 years ago this week, has been fired by 122 dissidents from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany who have signed an appeal which describes the revolution as a struggle which "clearly demonstrated that what the Hungarian people really wanted was independence, democracy and neutrality".

The appeal draws comparisons between the Hungarian Revolution, which was finally suppressed by Soviet tanks on November 4, and the Berlin uprising of 1953, the Prague spring, and the emergence of Solidarity in Poland.

Although in the past the Polish opposition has collaborated with Czech and Hungarian dissidents, securing signatures for last week's appeal from the four countries is a triumph of coordination.

As well as the Czech playwright, Václav Havel, the Polish historian, Adam Michnik, and the Hungarian author, György Konrad, prominent members of the East German peace movement, including Baerbel Bohley and Gerd Poppe, also joined in the appeal.

Links between the various groups involved have always been very loose because of close police control. But in addition to this there have been strong disagreements on key issues between the Czech human rights group, Charter 77, and the Hungarian democratic opposition in particular.

Most troublesome has been the dispute centring on the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. However, the signature on the appeal of Miklos Duray, Slovakia's most prominent Hungarian dissident, is evidence that these differences have, for the moment at least, been buried.

The signatories concede that the quality of life has improved for many since the 1980s, but that fundamental democratic rights have yet to be guaranteed to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

The declaration of a "joint determination to struggle for... pluralism... the peaceful reunification of a divided Europe and the rights of all minorities" reflects how the documents are also timed to coincide with the third Helsinki follow-up conference, which begins here next month.

Battles long ago

By Jane Walker in Madrid

THERE'S a valley in Spain called Jarama. It's a place we all know so well. For it was there that we gave of our manhood. And many of our good comrades fell.

Many of the ageing veterans of the International Brigades openly wept as these words were heard for the first time in almost 50 years over the Jarama Valley in a moving ceremony to commemorate those who fought and died in the struggle against fascism in Spain.

"Last time I looked over the bridge you could hardly see the water for meat — human meat," a Frenchman said as he gazed into the water.

A large wreath of red carnations was placed on the rusting iron structure of the Arganda bridge over the river where hundreds died in the four-day battle to prevent Franco's troops cutting the main road from Madrid to Valencia.

The bridge, standing 100 yards downstream from the modern road bridge, has been declared a bridge of peace. The Mayor of Arganda, Mr Pedro Diaz, who at 33 is too young to remember the Civil War, unveiled the first plaque to the International Brigades in Spain.

A group of teenagers watched Saturday's ceremony with curiosity. "Who are they?" asked a 15-year-old, admitting that she had never heard of the International Brigades. Another, deciding they were tourists who had got lost, pointed out helpfully: "The Escorial is over there."

"Our parents never talk about the Civil War," a young boy said. Spanish history textbooks have still not been rewritten to include both sides of the war which Franco school-children only knew as "the great crusade against the Reds."

The studied indifference to the Civil War's 50th anniversary comes from the Socialist government; there has been no official welcome for the veterans who were only received by the Mayor of Madrid.

"Obviously, we would have liked a more enthusiastic welcome from (Prime Minister) Felipe Gonzalez," Mr Bill Alexander, the British International Brigades secretary, said. His comrade, Mr Maurice Levine, aged 78, from Hale, Cheshire, was more understanding: "We

must be realistic. After 40 years of Franco the government has to try to reconcile both sides."

But for 800 veterans of the International Brigades who have returned to Spain to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War it was a week of reliving old memories. "We didn't see it as a civil war," Mr Alexander recalls. "We were there to fight fascism."

Eighteen former members of the British battalion have returned for the reunion. They represent the war's 2,300 British volunteers, of whom 525 died. Mr Alexander, pointing out the hill where the 15th Battalion, formed of British, American, Canadian and Spanish troops, held out in the fierce four-day battle in February, 1937, said: "Six hundred of us went into that battle and by the end, 400 were either dead or wounded."

Four hundred US veterans and their families are in Spain to remember the 1,000 men of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion who died in their memories at the scene of the bloody Battle of Brunete.

"There we faced the fascists on Mosquito Ridge," 84-year-old New Yorker Stephen Nelson said. "And that's where Oliver Law led the attack and was cut down by machine-gun fire. Law was a black American who led an all-white battalion at a time when the US army was still segregated."

Many Americans were persecuted at home because they had fought in Spain and none, despite battlefield experience, became an officer in the second world war.

"My husband was told he would never be an officer because he had fought on 'the wrong side' in Spain," one widow, Mrs Ruth Weason, said.

There were no regrets for the sacrifices made 60 years ago. One American, Mr Tony de Malo, who was wounded twice and then imprisoned in a French concentration camp before being repatriated, said: "This trip is symbolic. We are still here and Hitler, Mussolini and Franco are not. Even if the world is not exactly the way we want it, I think we are going in the right direction."

O'Neill hangs up his gavel

By Mark Tran in Washington

MR TIP O'NEILL, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and one of the last bastions of New Deal liberalism, banged his gavel for the last time at the weekend. With his departure after 34 years in the House — the last 10 years of them as Speaker — the Democrats have lost one of their most effective spokesmen against Ronald Reagan.

Over the past six years, Mr O'Neill has battled with the White House on a range of issues: tax cuts, Lebanon, defence spending, and notably Nicaragua, where his opposition stemmed partly from his close association with the Maryknoll nuns.

Initially ridiculed by the White House as a political dinosaur in the Reagan era, Mr O'Neill not only survived but became a rallying point for shellshocked Democrats. In doing so, he became a thorn in the side of the Republican Party.

Republicans and Democrats alike cheered and applauded the 73-year-old wheeler and dealer when he brought proceedings to a close last week. They unanimously

adopted a resolution of tribute which was proclaimed by a clerk in a voice crackling with emotion.

The country's most prominent American Irish politician, if it were not for Ronald Reagan, dealt with several Presidents and delivered a number of typically colourful judgments which will certainly find elaboration in his memoirs — sold for around \$1 million.

Of Mr Richard Nixon, Mr O'Neill said: "I used to play poker with him. Any guy who could scorch over losing 40 bucks I always thought shouldn't be President of the United States. . . He had no faith, no trust, and he had a bad group behind him." But he thought that historians would rate him much better in 60 years.

As for his present rival in the White House, Mr O'Neill described him as "probably the least knowledgeable of any President I've ever met on any subject. But he certainly is great with the media. There's a quality of leadership about him."

Mr O'Neill's retirement coincided with one of the most "productive" sessions of Congress, which saw an overhaul of the unemployment law, the tax code, a new anti-drug bill, and spending limits to help curb deficits of \$200 billion.

After delaying recess for two weeks, Congress finally approved the biggest budget in history — \$576 billion.

GM severs links with South Africa

By Alex Brummer in Washington

AMERICA'S largest industrial company, General Motors on Monday joined the growing list of US corporations to pull its operations out of South Africa in protest at the apartheid regime in Pretoria. The move comes less than a month after the US Senate overturned President Reagan's veto and imposed the strongest package of sanctions approved by any Western government.

The chairman of General Motors, Mr Roger Smith, said in a statement issued in Detroit: "We have been disappointed by the pace of change in ending apartheid. But he noted that business factors were also involved in the decision. He said that General Motors South Africa (GMSA) "had been losing money for several years in a very difficult South African business climate, and with the current structure, we could not see our operations turning around in the near future."

Under the plan announced on Monday, GMSA will be sold to a group headed by GM's local management. General Motors, which is a symbol of American business abroad, has come under increasing pressure in recent months to join other US corporations, including such giants as Coca Cola, Apple Computers and the investment house Philbro-Salomon, who have severed their links in recent months.

In the first nine months of 1986 General Motors sold 10,507 vehicles in South Africa representing a 7.9 per cent share of the highly fragmented market for motor cars. Last year sales were worth some \$230 million, which may seem a great deal of money but represents a drop in the ocean for America's top car maker with worldwide sales of \$94.1 billion.

The GM decision brought immediate applause from civil rights groups in the United States who have been at the forefront of the campaign to end US business ties

with the apartheid regime. Mr Benjamin Hooks, who heads the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, said: "We think it is good for the elimination of apartheid and good for the image of America."

The US, which just two decades ago was embroiled in its own desegregation battles throughout the south, is showing clear signs of grabbing the moral leadership over business in South Africa. In addition to sanctions, which prevent imports of agricultural products, steel, coal and textiles to the American markets, many universities, states and municipalities across the nation have rushed to sell off shares in corporations with holdings in the country.

Patrick Laurence writes from Johannesburg: The determination of Shell (SA) to adopt a high profile stance against apartheid is spelt out by its executive chairman, Mr John Wilson, in a company journal.

Mr Wilson told employees that Shell had adopted a "more open political stance" to demonstrate its opposition to apartheid, a move presumably designed to take some of the pressure off Royal Dutch Shell in Europe and elsewhere.

The mutilated body of a black political activist, Miss Masabotse Louie, was found in Soweto last week. She had been brutally murdered by a gang of about 20 men in what may have been a political killing.

Ten thousand black people were turned into squatters at the stroke of a Government pen last week when South Africa's Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, formally abolished the township of Oukaso.

Families living in the town 50 miles west of Pretoria, face forced removal if they do not go "voluntarily" to another township 12 miles away.

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Europe's hangmen are Silence over Pretoria's busy rope out of business

By Michael Simmons

NO executions were carried out in any European country last year, Amnesty International officials said last week. This means that 1986 is the first "clean" year in this regard since Amnesty began keeping records 26 years ago.

In its annual report, the organisation claims that governments are responding more and more to pressures to respect human rights, with a handful of new ones now incorporating such rights into their constitutions. Many governments, however, still try to sabotage or to evade systems that have been set up to protect these rights.

"Twenty-five years ago," the organisation notes, "there was no international convention against torture. Now, more than 40 governments have signed a UN torture convention which goes far beyond simply expressing revulsion at the practice."

"It spells out detailed provisions for the prosecution of alleged torturers, investigation of torture complaints and compensation for the victims."

The report also speaks of the "remarkable panorama of worldwide activity" which, it says, has been generated by the rapid growth of the human rights movement. More than 1,000 independent groups and organisations are now campaigning for or promoting human rights as part of their programme.

A total of £431,880 in relief

payments to help prisoners of conscience and their families, and to help the rehabilitation of torture victims, was distributed by the organisation during the year.

But, despite positive developments during the year, the organisation concedes that there have also been governments who felt that its reporting was "improper". These governments have argued against what they see as violations of their national sovereignty, of their security provisions, or even of their development policies.

Amnesty says that this report, covering the organisation's last full year under the secretary-generalship of Mr Thomas Hammarberg, who recently returned to Sweden after several years in charge of operations, covers human rights violations in a total of 128 countries.

In a brief summary of the report's country-by-country analyses, the organisation singles out Chile and Kampuchea for their torture record over the year under review; the execution of "hundreds" in Iran and Iraq; and the civilians who have been killed in Afghanistan.

It also draws attention to those tortured, abducted or "dead in police custody" in South Africa.

Amnesty's Report 1986 costs £7.95, post free, from 5 Roberts Place, London EC1R 0EJ.

A CONSPIRACY of silence continues to smother debate in South Africa on the death penalty, although the hanging of people in batches of four and six at a rate of well over a 100 a year remains one of the most gruesome aspects of the South African way of life.

The execution of hapless bands of men — and the occasional woman — is usually recorded in a brief paragraph or two in the press, probably because the victims are normally black criminals.

It is only when African National Congress guerrillas or white criminals are taken to the gallows with them that more attention is paid to the macabre ritual of judicial killing at Pretoria Central Prison, where all executions take place.

But even then there is virtually no debate on the principle of capital punishment itself. The death penalty is one of the unquestioned axioms of South African society. It has been debated only twice in Parliament in the past 20 years.

In 1969, Mrs Helen Suzman, then the lone Progressive party MP, asked in vain for a commission of inquiry to be appointed to examine the death penalty.

She spoke out strongly against it, but her dissenting voice was drowned by a chorus of MPs anxious not to make the executioner redundant.

Later, in the early 1970s, the death penalty was again debated briefly when an amendment to the Criminal Law Procedure Act was moved. The Speaker, however, refused to allow a vote to be taken.

In pressing the case against the death penalty, Mrs Suzman noted

that the whites assumed that the death penalty was necessary to protect them from aggression by blacks. But, she said, actual prosecution figures showed that, proportionally, whites murdered and raped blacks four times more often than blacks murdered and raped whites.

One reason the death penalty is not a major issue in South Africa is that most of those who are hanged are black. More often than not, they come from the poorest sections of the subordinate black

majority. The voices that are raised in protest on their behalf can scarcely make themselves heard in the corridors of power.

Of the 82 people hanged since the start of the year, 63 were black, 16 coloured and only two white. Another 209 people are waiting in Death Row. Last year, 137 people were executed, of whom 95 were black, 37 coloured and five white.

Another reason advanced for the absence of an abolitionist movement is that capital punishment has to a large extent been marginalised by the wider controversy over racial discrimination.

But that begs the important question of whether hanging can be divorced from such discrimination.

"No white has yet been hanged for the rape of a black, and only about six whites have been hanged for the murder of blacks," Professor John Dugard wrote in his book, Human Rights and the South African Legal Order. "Conversely,

blacks convicted of murder or rape of whites are usually executed."

Over a 22-year period, 288 whites were convicted of rape of blacks, against 844 blacks convicted of raping whites. More important, not a single white rapist was sentenced to death, against 121 black rapists who were.

These figures, as counsel for the defence remarked in a watershed trial on whether or not South Africa's courts were racially biased, "cry out for a thorough investigation of the racial aspects of the death sentence."

Hanging is becoming increasingly entangled with the political dispute as African National Congress guerrillas are convicted of murder and sentenced to death. Since the 1976 black student revolt, eight guerrillas have been executed.

The case against the execution of men motivated by political beliefs was, ironically, eloquently stated by a former leader of the ruling National Party, Mr D. F. Malan. Pleading for the life of the Nazi agent, Robey Leibrant, nearly 45 years ago, Mr Malan said: "If blood is split then we make the future difficult."

Leibrant was reprieved by the then Prime Minister, J. C. Smuts, who commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment.

President P. W. Botha, however, has provided a more recent precedent. Late in July, he ordered the South African-controlled interim administration in Namibia to withdraw murder charges against four white soldiers for allegedly murdering a black man, Frans Upatopa.

Che's captor 'US link' in Contra war

By our Correspondent in Washington

WITH the final passage of a budget which includes \$100 million in aid to support the Contras, the Administration is clearly hopeful that the storm which developed on the shooting-down of a C-123 supply plane by the Sandinistas will die away.

The Administration has two factors on its side: the certain interruption of congressional investigations by the mid-term election campaign and the media's near total distraction with East-West relations.

Nevertheless, the details emerging here and in Central America of US-backed supply operations to the Contras, using the Ilopango air base as a jump-off point, bear the fingerprints of a concerted effort within Washington to circumvent the law. Last year, Congress specifically proscribed a CIA role in supporting the Contras.

As has been the case since Mr Reagan took office, the powerhouse in conducting the secret war in Central America has been the National Security Council. What is slightly different this time is that the capture of a file, Mr Eugene Hasenfus, has led directly back to the office of the Vice President, Mr George Bush.

This may prove to be a family affair, but it has been noted here that the Vice President's son, Mr Jeb Bush, has long acted as a

liaison man with the fiercely pro-Contra, anti-Cuban and Nicaraguan soldiers in Miami.

The direct link to Mr Bush is Max Gomez, a former CIA agent with a background so colourful that it reads like a chapter from a thriller. Mr Gomez has spent a lifetime turning up in the centre of CIA and American supported undercover operations in Latin America.

Described as a hardened veteran of clandestine wars in South America, Mr Gomez sports Che Guevara's watch on his wrist. "He wears this in the same way as a Sioux chief might have displayed Custer's scalp," a Washington analyst said last week.

Mr Gomez is said to have personally interrogated Che, Fidel Castro's right-hand man, whose bearded face became an icon for student revolutionaries around the world in the 1960s. Soon after the Gomez interrogation for US intelligence services, the Argentine-born guerrilla fighter was killed by the Bolivian army.

Among Mr Gomez's other claims to historical fame was a role in the disastrous CIA-led Bay of Pigs

invasion of Cuba in 1961 — an operation which provided the young President Kennedy with a resounding foreign policy defeat early in his administration.

In the secret and almost certainly illegal war which the US has been conducting against Nicaragua, Mr Gomez is seen as a pivotal figure. "He is one of the heroes of the war," sources on the ground in El Salvador have said. "He has probably done more than anyone to improve the military and hurt the guerrillas."

Given the broad knowledge of Mr Gomez's background, it is all the more remarkable that Mr Bush would have acknowledged that he has met Mr Gomez on at least three occasions.

Such meetings may have partly been the result of carelessness by Mr Bush's national security adviser, Mr Donald Gregg, also a former CIA man. What is also forgotten in this chain of command is that Mr Bush himself served as CIA director after the Church hearings on Capitol Hill about CIA excesses in Chile and elsewhere.

The importance, however, of the Hasenfus affair is that it has

flushed into the public domain details of a sophisticated supply operation — almost certainly involving US embassy officials in El Salvador — which were largely ignored until now.

The Nicaraguan rebel supply operation in Ilopango, the military base just outside San Salvador, has reportedly been in progress for more than three years. The CIA set up the operation when it was still legal. After Congress acted, it was camouflaged.

The Administration's attempt to disguise its involvement has angered El Salvador. "Do you think the Salvadorean Government would let hundreds of guns and big planes fly in and out of here for more than a year, taking stuff to the guerrillas unless the US Government didn't tell them to?" one source asked rhetorically.

On at least one occasion, the US

ambassador in El Salvador reportedly met Mr Gomez, who also uses the names Felix Rodriguez and Gustavo Villodo. The discussion, which was not denied by the State Department, took place at a time when Mr Gomez was directing flights from El Salvador.

That latest batch of allegations will bolster the report which has been put together by Senator John Kerry, a liberal member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr Kerry's 12-page document quotes more than 50 sources raising "serious questions about whether the US has complied with the law" in its relationship with the Contras.

It is said to have uncovered an "interlocking web of bank accounts, airstrips, planes, pilots and Contra bases which have been used in common by weapons smugglers, narcotics smugglers, the Contras and organisations assisting the Contras." The Kerry report links the system to Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, the deputy director for politico-military affairs on the National Security Council.

Republicans in danger of losing control of the Senate

REPUBLICAN Party hopes of holding on to the Senate in next month's elections are fading fast because of the deteriorating US economy, according to the first comprehensive polling in the critical states released last week.

The survey, conducted for the Washington Post and ABC News, shows that the Democrats are ahead in five states held by Republican Senators who got into the Senate on Mr Reagan's coattails in 1980.

The economic difficulties faced by the Administration in the final weeks of campaigning were demonstrated last week when the Federal Reserve Board, America's central bank, reported that industrial output rose only 0.1 per cent last month.

Such figures mean that, during the last year, industrial output here has hardly moved at all as the expensive dollar hit manufacturing. Mining is also in difficulty, according to these figures, with the weakness in oil and metal prices leading the way down.

The problems of local industry and farming appear to be far more

important to voters in the mid-term elections on November 4 than arms control and strategic issues. The polls show, however, that President Reagan has been particularly successful in persuading Americans that Iceland was a good thing and Star Wars was just the kind of insurance policy the US requires against the Kremlin.

By Alex Brummer in Washington

crats looking set, with only two weeks to go in the campaign, to capture the states of Florida, Idaho, Maryland, Nevada, and North Dakota from the Republicans. Only in Missouri do the Republicans appear to have a chance at the expense of the Democrats.

If the Democrats captured just these states in which they were ahead, they would have a 52-48 Senate majority. But they could make further gains in such states as North Carolina, South Dakota and Washington.

The survey shows that the Re-

publicans have some hope of increasing their numbers in the ranks of governors, where the sunbelt Texas and Florida states could possibly change hands. A change in Senate control to the Democrats would effectively mean that President Reagan's chances of carrying through any controversial legislation during a second term would be neutralised. Big defence budget cuts, with perhaps, Star Wars taking the brunt of the pressure, would also be likely.

Indications from the White House's own polling, however, show that it would be unwise for the Democrats to re-focus their campaign on strategic issues after the Iceland talks. Both White House and independent surveys by the Wall Street Journal and NBC News show that as many as 70 per cent of Americans approve of the way Mr Reagan handled himself in Reykjavik.

Armed with these figures, Mr Reagan can be expected to make much of strategic issue as he takes to the road for the final days of campaigning.

A guide for gold-diggers

By our Correspondent in Washington

GOLD-DIGGERS across the United States are now waking up with a glint in their eyes and hope in their hearts. The multimillionaire publisher, Malcolm Forbes, has uncovered one of the richest seams of untapped wealth since Forbes Magazine began tracking the fortunes of the 400 richest men in America.

The 1986 list is a dream for those hoping to marry into money. It includes no fewer than 63 highly eligible bachelors, and some 39 unmarried women. These potential tickets to the good life range from a 94-year-old heir to a broadcasting empire in Seattle to a 25-year-old heir to the Mellon banking fortunes who lives in New York.

Among those bachelors with the highest profiles is the US News and World report publisher and property magnate, Mortimer Zuckerman, who at 49-years-old is worth \$250 million, and a diplomatic star to

boot following his highly public interventions on behalf of the Moscow correspondent Nicholas Daniloff.

While this year's list is dotted with the good old names of American money, the Rockefellers, Mellons, and Du Ponts, who made their fortunes turning the United States into a giant of heavy industry, most of the new super-rich spring from the booming service, fashion, entertainment and communications industries.

This year's newcomers include fashion designer Ralph Lauren, whose yuppie polo symbol long replaced the alligator on American pockets, rock-and-roll evergreen Dick Clark, now worth a cool \$180 million, and Motown records impresario Berry Gordy, who comes in at around the same level.

In the great scheme of things, such upstarts remain a long way from the top of the list. Samuel Walton, the pick-up truck-driving

supermarket king from Texas and the Deep South makes oil men of old look like paupers with his \$4.5 billion personal value.

He is chased by John Kluge, the Washington television and cellular phone king, who soared to new heights when he sold his MetroMedia stations to Rupert Murdoch — pocketing around \$3.5 billion in cash.

Other billionaires are more familiar names:

- Ross Perot, the Texas computer magnate.
- Gordon Getty.

- Seagram's chief, Edgar Bronfman.
- Times publisher and broadcasting magnate Rupert Murdoch and another newspaper publisher, Katherine Graham, who chairs the Washington Post and Newweek, are worth \$725 and \$410 million respectively.

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9	Nissan Bluebird 2.0	£137	£158	10	Pugeot 405R	£189	£287
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COMMENT

THE joint statement by dissidents in four East European countries marks the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian uprising, not the foundation of an international conspiracy for the overthrow of the Warsaw Pact. Many in East and West, for a variety of reasons, would wish the world to believe the latter. They include hawks in Moscow anxious to keep the satellites in closely controlled orbit, and birds of the same feather in Washington who would like to see the "evil empire" begin to unravel. In between are those in Eastern Europe who desire more freedom, within or without the Soviet sphere of influence, and those in the West who would like to see them gain it without provoking a general confrontation. The wishful thinkers can be left to their cogitations while the document is allowed to speak for itself.

The four-paragraph declaration has no parallel in the postwar history of eastern Europe. There has been an irregular stream of "samizdat" publications, protests or various kinds, official documents leaked by

Voices from beyond the curtain

internal opponents of the system and such high-profile acts of spiritual defiance as the Czechoslovakian Charter 77. Opposition to Soviet hegemony has also from time to time exploded in the streets: the workers' riot in East Berlin in 1953, the Polish October and the Hungarian revolt in 1956, the Czechoslovakian "Prague Spring" of 1968 and Poland again in August 1980, when Solidarity became the greatest internal challenge so far to the Soviet system. But the piece of paper, copies of which surfaced in the capitals of Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland at the weekend, carries 122 signatures from dissidents, mostly intellectuals, in all four countries. Supporters of Charter 77 in Prague, the

peace and human rights movement in East Berlin, the democratic opposition in Budapest and Solidarity in Warsaw have for the first time put their names to a joint call for the realisation of the aspirations which led to the Hungarian revolt 30 years ago this week.

The signatories are among the most intensely observed objects of attention of their respective secret police forces. Their enterprise therefore involved considerable risk and must have taken much moral courage as well as organisational skill. The impetus may well have come from Hungary which not only accounts for 54 names but also faces its special anniversary this week.

But the 28 Poles, 24 Czechoslovaks and 18 East Germans who signed the paper have by so doing exponentially increased its significance. The declaration commits the four national groups of signatories to support one another's efforts to obtain more democracy and independence as well as an end to the division of Europe and the ill-treatment of minorities. Such loose and informal contacts as there have been hitherto among the dissidents in the four countries tended to show as many differences of opinion as goals shared by all.

Their joint proclamation therefore represents not only a conscious attempt to find the highest common factor among them but also an organisational coup achieved in the face of difficulties beyond the imagination of most in the West. Watch out therefore for those on both sides of the ideological divide who would devalue the courage of the signatories by scoring cheap points. The declaration merits unconditional respect as an exercise of the right of freedom of speech in the most daunting conditions.

Birmingham shouldn't feel downhearted

BIRMINGHAM did jolly well. From a standing start, with a lot of hard work and enthusiasm, they produced a perfectly viable bid for the 1992 Olympics; and the fact that they didn't win is no cause for reproach. Barcelona always had a lot going for it (including the Catalan chairman of the committee). But that's no cause for whingeing either. It is a lovely, soaring city, beautifully equipped, in a country which still retains a fresh (democratic) fervour to compete and show what it can do.

There are, though, one or two less simple things to add. And the first of them, stepping back from the lobbying, free-loading, hot-house of Lausanne, is to wonder why on earth — six years out — anyone should be devoting so much effort, and so much swilling cash, in order to get the Games. For the Olympics, on any rational assessment of recent track records, are a terrible shambles. Remember Moscow in 1980. Afghanistan, the American boycott (and Mrs Thatcher, ironic shades of South Africa, telling our athletes not to go). Why hold the Olympics in the Soviet Union anyway? Because nobody else much wanted them. Remember Los Angeles in 1984. The Soviet bloc boycott. Yet another games in which most golds were petty-centred. Oddly now, for months, the talk and effort has been all of 1992, as though 1988 didn't exist. But of course it does: Seoul, South Korea. The Berlin of the Orient. A military dictatorship struggling to keep control. Danger within, and the most patent danger of infinite boycotting on the international scale. So why, pray, have so many anxious cities been competing for the dubious

honour? The answer is not, alas, a pure flame of idealism. First (thanks to Los Angeles) there is probably transient perception that many big privatised bucks may be made from a suitable staging. Concomitantly the Olympic industry — for that is what it is — has been putting together a circus of free trips and free lunches, spending bucks on the hope of making bucks. Second, more distantly, a bevy of cities (and nations) see the Games as a way of putting themselves on the pump and circumstance map.

No one should knock that quest for recognition too hard. Birmingham (like Brisbane and Amsterdam) might have felt a new mantle of esteem around its shoulders had it won. On any true perspective, however, you wonder whether the Games will deserve a fourth chance (after the USSR, the USA and South Korea). Events like the Olympics have gradually become an artificial focal point for terrorism, spies and hypersensitive politicians. Little events in their image — like the Commonwealth Games — are flat on their broken backs. The pragmatic response amongst athletes has been to do something entirely different — so the best competition in most sports now is at a proliferation of specific world championship events, rather than bloated multi-disciplined jamborees.

Maybe Barcelona will prove such diagnoses wrong. Indeed, we hope so. But don't shed too many tears as the wheeling and dealing Athenian Spirit Industry PLC picks Spain. There's Seoul to survive first, and after that everybody may be wondering what in heaven's name all the fuss is about.

Bank bows to reality over interest rates

HAVING moved heaven and earth to prevent interest rates going up before or during the Conservative Party conference, the Bank of England last week bowed to the pressures of the markets and signalled its acquiescence to a one percentage point rise in bank base rates to 11 per cent. If this is sustained it will push personal overdrafts up to 14 or 15 per cent; then mortgages; then the retail prices index.

Bank interest rates in Britain are now five percentage points higher than in Germany and nearly three points higher than France. If you subtract the effect of inflation (now at 2.4 per cent a year) then "real" interest rates on personal overdrafts are now an astonishing 11.6 to 12.6 per cent, easily the highest in recent memory. The latest rise must surely make Mrs Thatcher re-examine her misjudged opposition to membership of the European countries which intervene in the foreign exchange markets to keep their currencies within an agreed range of each other. The Chancellor has been convinced of the arguments for some time, but Mrs Thatcher is resolutely opposed, partly because her heart has never been set in Europe and partly because two of her favourite economists (Professors Walters and Minford) believe that membership would lead to even greater swings in interest rates, because the full force of defending the exchange rate would fall on monetary policy. Sterling could no longer take the strain. But most other economists — particularly those close to the City markets — hold that membership would have the opposite effect. They argue that the main reason for high interest

rates in the UK (compared with other similar countries) is that money attracted to Britain has to carry a premium to compensate for the downward risks of the exchange rate. It's no use overseas investors putting money over here to earn 11 per cent in interest if the value of the pound goes down that much in a few months and wipes out the interest gain. But if sterling were locked into the fixed exchange rate system of the EMS, with member countries, including Germany and France, ready to defend it, then they presto, the exchange rate risk disappears and interest rates would be brought down.

It is a seductive theory which certainly carries less risk than the present shambles. But the crucial point about EMS entry (which we have supported for many years) is that Britain must go in at a realistic exchange rate: that is a rate at which our companies can compete with overseas industry on fair terms. This is because once inside the club a currency is locked for long periods into a narrow range.

As a result of the fall in sterling the pound is now much nearer a realistic rate than it was a year ago. But, because wage inflation in Britain is still running far higher than in France and Germany, it would be prudent to allow the pound to sink a little lower against key European currencies before the drawbridge finally comes down. If Britain joins the EMS on terms it can live with, it will also be making a long overdue political commitment to the Common Market. Membership, surely, cannot be put off much longer. Especially when the world outside is so turbulent and dull.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Three representatives of the extremist Armenian movement ASALA (Secret Armenian Army for the Liberation of Armenia), told *France Presse*, *Le Monde's* special correspondent in Beirut, that the reason the terrorists have ceased their Paris bombing campaign is that the French government is engaged in negotiations. The French prime minister's office promptly denied the claims.

Meanwhile, there have been further developments in the investigations into the movements of various members of the Ibrahim Abdallah

family (one of whom — Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, is one of three imprisoned in France in connection with terrorist activities, whose release has been sought by the perpetrators of the recent wave of bomb attacks in Paris). Robert Ibrahim Abdallah has been formally identified by a Frenchwoman who used to know him as "Mehmet". She has told the police that she met him in Paris just before two of the bomb attacks: evidence which would appear to demolish the suspect's claims he had not been in France for years.

ASALA say French are negotiating

BEIRUT — Three men, claiming to be members of the ASALA, told *Le Monde* on October 15: "We're waiting for the French government to keep its promises, if not we'll resume our operations and they'll be more violent." They added they had given it an ultimatum but refused to say when it would expire.

The three men, wearing black balaclavas to conceal their features, identified themselves as Vahran Vahranian, official ASALA spokesman; Mirhan Mihanian, political committee member, who answered questions; and their "comrade", Murad. The interview took place at the offices of the local Arab weekly, *Attassat*.

"ASALA", they said, "has already designated all French interests worldwide as military targets. We defy Chirac and we promise Mitterrand disasters if they don't keep their promises — release the prisoners."

The prisoners concerned are an ASALA activist, Varoujan Gordjian (sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the July 1983 bombing at Orly airport which killed eight people and injured 50 others), Georges Ibrahim Abdallah and Anis Naccache. Their release has also been demanded by the CSPPA (Committee in Support of Arab and Middle East Political Prisoners), which has claimed responsibility for the September bombings in Paris.

Without revealing too much about the state of these negotiations, Mihanian claimed they were taking place with several

interlocutors. "Our negotiations are quite separate from the negotiations France is having with Iran and those it is also having with other parties. But the government shouldn't fool the French public by denying that it is negotiating. It is doing so and we will reveal the contents of the current secret negotiations and the other negotiations at the appropriate time. We are in possession of everything."

By Françoise Chipaux

but if the French government insists on obtaining the release of the hostages first and negotiating afterwards, it is making a mistake."

To back up his claims, Mihanian mentioned a negotiating session with a French delegation (he refused to give the date) at which one French diplomat allegedly told him: "Mitterrand is a Socialist. Why do you describe him as a Zionist? The problem you have with us is the case of the Armenian prisoners. If we release them, will our problem with you be settled?" Mihanian said he answered: "Free the prisoners first and we'll take up the question of settling our dispute later... Should Mitterrand and his government dare to deny this, we'll reveal the details of the negotiations that have taken place and the names of the persons who conducted them. By doing that I want to condemn Mitterrand's deceitful attitude towards French public opinion and show how he is twisting the facts."

In this connection, Mihanian recalled the release of the former

French cultural attaché in Tripoli, Gilles Peyroles. "When he was kidnapped, the French government promised to release Georges Ibrahim Abdallah in return for Peyroles's freedom. But when the latter was freed, Mitterrand went back on his word. We are aware of all the details of those negotiations. It's because of this policy that the French people have had to suffer all these disasters."

And he added: "We have no links with the Syrian government's policy, any more than we have with Iran. We have a cause for which we are fighting with a progressive and internationalist vision. Now, neither Syria nor Iran is an imperialist state, and Iran is not the hub of liberation movements. But it's obvious that if Mitterrand sides with Iraq, he's going to have problems with Iran. It's natural that I should take Iran's side, for it is fighting France, whose policy is linked to Israel, the United States and Turkey."

Mihanian concentrated his attacks on President Mitterrand. "There's a world of difference between Mitterrand and Chirac," he said. "If Mitterrand hadn't put pressure on him, Chirac would have settled all the problems and averted the disasters that have befallen the French people. In 1985, Mitterrand's government handed over the ASALA activist Abraham Tomassian to the Lebanese intelligence service and the Forces Libanaises (the Christian militia). Jacques Chirac, on the other hand, freed the three heroes of Operation Van (the attack on the Turkish consulate in Paris) and turned them over to ASALA."

Mitterrand sets political hearts a-fluttering

By Jacques Isnard and Jean-Yves Lhomet

ADDRESSING paratroopers at Caylus (Tarn-et-Garonne), President François Mitterrand reminded his audience on Monday last week that he was supreme commander of all the armed services and responsible for France's strategic options. He promised he would keep a close eye on the line taken at the next defence council meeting when the 1987-1991 military planning law is examined. The President also indicated he had no intention of running for a second presidential term, but did not exclude the possibility that "factors" could emerge between now and 1988 which could prompt him to change his mind.

"If a presidential election were held today, naturally I would be returned. It would be more difficult for the other Socialists. Michel Rocard is in the best position. Pierre Mauroy would do the job best, but he's not popular. Laurent Fabius has been a good Prime Minister. Yes, yes, I assure you, a very good Prime Minister..." This was how this summer President Mitterrand answered questions put to him by visitors about his succession. To those who are very close to him, he added a few considerations about his age (he would be 72 in October 1988). But then the President declared: "I'm not a candidate... I have no intention of being a candidate... will there be factors to tell me: no, that's a mistake? I can't imagine it. In theory, we have 17 months for that."

This then is the expurgated public expression of comments Mitterrand used to make aloud, but in private. The reason he chose to give it wider currency was that he felt it necessary. His declaration doubtless meets two seemingly contradictory, but in fact complementary, concerns.

First, Mitterrand takes care not to appear as a "candidate president", an uncomfortable situation which cost his predecessor Valéry Giscard d'Estaing dearly. Secondly, he is giving Chirac a warning which may be summed up thus: "I certainly don't want to stay here for keeps, but if you hassle me, I can hasten the election."

This threat probably falls into the logic of the statement he made on March 2 on television at the end of the parliamentary election campaign: "I'd rather give up my office than the authority that goes with my office. I will not be a cut-rate President." Now the fact is, in recent weeks the President has been having to cope with (though it does not show) renewed "voracity" (as he puts it) on the part of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in areas that are theoretically "shared" in the power-sharing arrangement (defence and foreign policy).

Chirac is stepping up his international activities, letting foreign missions know through emissaries that French foreign policy is determined at the Matignon (the Prime Minister's office) and no longer at the Elysée, that the occupant at the Elysée is playing a simple role as a representative. Chirac gives the impression of running the country's international affairs by addressing the United Nations Organisation — an initiative that annoyed Mitterrand. What's more, the Prime Minister would also like to shape France's strategic policy his own way.

For the President, there is then a real risk of being dispossessed of his authority over the months by the man who is trying to step into his shoes. For some months now, Mitterrand has been particularly vigilant on defence issues. Tipped off the first time by the declarations of a Prime Minister captivated by the United States' Strategic Defence Initiative, which he (Mitterrand) will have no truck with, the President took a few precautions afterwards. In effect, he told Chirac, who is anxious to have his military planning law implemented as quickly as possible: Careful! Budgetary options involve strategic choices; I'll personally keep an eye on your financial decisions; you'll have to reckon with me.

"Power," Chirac likes to say, "cannot be shared." From the very first day he has been illustrating this claim. At first, the "voraciousness" was limited to nibbling away at the outer fringes of the President's authority. For instance, when preparations for the Tokyo summit was under way, Mitterrand learned from the Japanese authorities that Chirac had negotiated with them the conditions of his participation even before he asked Mitterrand — out of formal courtesy — whether he could be in the party. Worse still, Mitterrand recently found out from Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who had been told by Chirac, that France was preparing an economic aid package for Syria.

When Mitterrand hints that perhaps "factors" may arise, who can say, which could perhaps constrain him to run again, he is addressing Chirac, the power-hungry Prime Minister. But at the same time, he tries to throw doubt on his candidature in 1988. He does not want to be a "candidate-president" a year and a half before the election is due to take place, thereby averting the risk to which he is being exposed by some of his friends, like Laurent Fabius ("when you have a good President, you keep him") or Louis Mermoz.

Mitterrand, once told Giscard d'Estaing in confidence: "You made a mistake. The Presidency of the Republic is an office for which you don't run."

(October 18)

Thatcher's fears

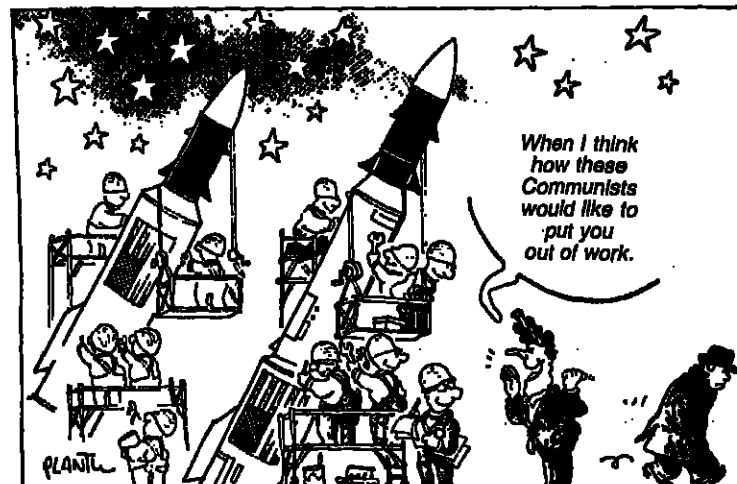
Continued from page 1

One senior Nato official said: "People have become comfortable with their nuclear weapons. The prospect of losing them makes them feel as if their underwear has been removed."

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates October 20	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.2465-2.2475	2.2447-2.2467
Austria	19.87-19.87	19.87-19.87
Belgium	36.00-36.12	35.73-35.85
Canada	1.0870-1.0900	1.0870-1.0900
Denmark	10.83-10.70	10.85-10.70
France	9.30-9.31	9.25-9.28
Germany	2.841-2.845	2.82-2.83
Hong Kong	11.15-11.16	11.15-11.16
Ireland	1.0428-1.0438	1.0395-1.0405
Italy	1.983-1.988	1.985-1.991
Japan	221.10-221.45	220.60-220.95
Netherlands	3.210-3.215	3.19-3.21
Norway	10.43-10.45	10.42-10.44
Portugal	207.50-208.35	208.50-209.10
Spain	168.90-169.20	168.10-168.37
Sweden	9.78-9.78	9.75-9.76
Switzerland	2.320-2.334	2.31-2.32
USA	1.4260-1.4300	1.4315-1.4325
ECU	1.3640-1.3665	1.3592-1.3599

FT 30 Share Index 1264.4 Gold \$428.878



Drawing by Placido in Le Monde

The Nato Secretary-General, Lord Carrington, does not disagree with this argument, but says that, politically, Western Europe hasn't a leg to stand on: all Nato countries endorsed President Reagan's proposal for a zero-zero solution to medium-range missiles when he made it in 1979.

His "solution" is to extract a firm commitment from the Russians on the parameters of negotiations to limit short-range nuclear arms, and to convince both super-powers that they must give equal

priority to conventional arms reductions.

President Reagan said last week that agreeing to a Soviet demand to curb development of Star Wars would be like having given up the use of radar in the Second World War. "I couldn't help but think that giving up SDI would have been like Chamberlain giving up radar, as well as Czechoslovakia at Munich, a tragic blunder that could have spelled the end to freedom in Europe," Mr Reagan said.

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Counterblast from vigilantes of the right

By Georges Marion

AFTER SIX WEEKS of lying low, the mysterious Front Français de Libération (FFL) has popped up again and sent "Communiqué No. 3" to the French press, including *Le Monde* and *Libération*. Like the two previous messages, this communiqué is also critical of Jacques Chirac's government which it accuses of adopting an attitude of reprehensible deference to Syria and Iran, which it describes as "terrorist states".

Once again the FFL includes in its message the names and addresses of some Middle Eastern nationals whom it says are working actively in France for the Hezbollah and Amal Shites. Where one of them is concerned, the well-known Syrian-born Saudi businessman, Akram Ojeh, the FFL has included a typewritten document which it claims is the first page of a potted biography of the man established by the central office of the Renseignements Généraux (the police intelligence department). The document does indeed look very much like the sort of file this department usually puts together. In addition to

Ojeh's name and date of birth and marriage as well as details of his wife and their children, it contains biographical material generally found in files of this kind. Along with the communiqué the FFL has sent copies of two teleaxes. In the first, dated September 11, 1988, the sender — a certain Farouk — confirms to his Tehran correspondent, H. Maleki, that he can send him the aerial photo equipment for a sum of \$5,180,000. According to the FFL, Maleki is a member of the Iranian army's purchasing mission. In the second teleax, which is a reply to the first, the Iranian correspondent says he is examining the offer of the aerial photography system, but requests the "very urgent" delivery of ground-to-air missiles and spare parts for planes. The two teleaxes, FFL claims, proves the French are selling weapons to the Iranians despite the embargo imposed on them.

A hoax in bad taste or dangerous brainwashing? The FFL communiqué all bear the same stamp. Backed up by confidential papers

to lend credibility to their contents, they snipe at Chirac's government which is accused of lacking the will to effectively combat terrorism. The last two messages are also fairly bitter about the men running the Lebanese anti-terrorist unit and attack its head, Christian Prouteau, and his assistant, Colonel Esquivier. The FFL also accuses the colonel of having facilitated the entry into France on March 8 of General Tlass, a close aide of Syrian President Hafez el-Assad. Tlass, says the FFL, brought along with him the "instigator of the TWA Boeing hijack in Beirut". And it adds: "This terrorist more-over stayed four days on our territory during which time he was the guest of the Syrian Akram Ojeh."

A little while ago, a few top police officers confided they had identified the writer of the communiqué. He is said to be a veteran "spook" close to certain DGSE (foreign intelligence service) quarters, a former informant of the Renseignements Généraux and an

ex-member of the SAC (Service Action Civique, which was disbanded by the last Socialist government). But the identification does not seem to have led to any arrest. On the other hand, and this is a surprising coincidence, the FFL's third communiqué was made public just days after the arrest in Switzerland of the Swiss industrialist Erwin Egger, who has been accused in Paris of breaking laws on dealing in military equipment. The case (it in fact concerns a transaction involving electronic timing devices that can be used to make bombs) was revealed by the FFL in its second release which reached the press early in September. Egger was arrested on the orders of a judge of the Swiss canton of Fribourg in connection with a vast maritime insurance swindle. The same day, and for other reasons, Udo Prokisch, a businessman close to the Austrian Socialist Party leaders and owner of the celebrated Viennese café, Demel, was arrested in the Austrian capital along with another businessman, Peter Dalmir. (October 18)

Unending war begins to bite on Iraq's population

By Jean Gueyras

BAHDA — Nothing has apparently changed on the banks of the Tigris. President Saddam Hussein is still the unchallenged master of Iraq, the supreme guide feared and respected by all. The countless gigantic portraits of the man, wearing full marshal's regalia or national dress, which have gone up along the country's roads and at the entrance to the humblest hamlet from Basra in the south to Kurdistan in the far north are now a part of the national landscape. But cracks are beginning to appear in this idyllic picture of the "Bata el qasbi" (President-ruler). More and more pessimistic observations are being hawked by word of mouth, and they do not spare even the President's family.

The crisis of confidence appears to have begun in April when it became clear that Fao, occupied by the Iraqis in February, was now lost for good. The prestige of the President, who had on many occasions solemnly vowed to reconquer "this parcel of national territory" regardless of the cost, would appear to have been damaged. Velled recriminations are being voiced in military circles against the Ba'ath Party's meddling in the conduct of war which is blamed for the reverses at the front. Some officers are even critical of President Saddam Hussein's arrogance; as commander-in-chief of the armed forces: "He refuses to listen to the grievances of the military and administers reprimands and punishment with the intention of whipping the most refractory into line."

Rumours are beginning to fly, but in a regime where secrecy has been turned into doctrine they are unverifiable. There is talk of summary executions of officers held responsible for the rout at Fao and coup d'état bids being speedily crushed. The presidential plane, people whisper, was fired on at a military airbase and officers who were called "cowards" by Saddam Hussein tried to draw their guns on him.

The muted grumbling in certain military circles seems to have spread to the Takritis "clan". The president himself comes from this group and until now it constituted his most solid and unquestioning base of support. Takrit, a provincial town some 150 kilometres to the north of Baghdad, became a hotbed of Arab nationalism in Iraq during the British occupation. It is now one of the pillars of the Ba'athist government, but at the same time a punishment station to which officials frustrated and disappointed with the regime are exiled.

Saddam Hussein is said to have stepped in personally to put an end to certain dishonest operations that members of his own family were engaged in. Khairallah Tofah, the President's maternal uncle and father-in-law, nicknamed "Mr Five Per Cent", is said to have facilitated the departure abroad — "for business reasons" — of several of his kin in violation of regulations banning all travel out of the country so as to conserve foreign currency which is becoming increasingly hard to come by in Iraq. The President is reported to have immediately taken the matter in hand and instructed Iraqi embassies to "facilitate the return to the country" of nationals who were abroad illegally.

These measures apparently touched off rebellious moves in Takrit, a sort of latent secession headed by the President's half-brother, Barzan Takriti, who until 1983 held the key post of head of the all-powerful political and external intelligence department.

There is persistent talk of an armed brush between the President's bodyguards and a group of particularly vindictive Takritis which is supposed to have left several dead on either side. Both parties are trying to play down the "incident", but the fact remains that severe penalties were imposed on some of the ringleaders.

Omar Hazzak, for example, who used to be the military commander of Baghdad in 1968-1969 when the Ba'ath Party seized power, has disappeared in the upheaval. He used to be considered very close to former President Hassan el Bakr, who in the last years of his life backed away from Saddam Hussein's brother-in-law. Was Omar Hazzak executed along with two members of his family, as some are saying? What is certain is that his house in Takrit, along with the homes of a score of his friends, have been bulldozed flat, in all probability to discourage others who may be tempted to follow his example.

Increasingly alarmed at the turn of events, President Saddam Hussein called an extraordinary meeting of the Ba'ath regional command, the party's highest body, so he could personally take control of an increasingly confused situation.

Once more, Saddam Hussein, who keeps a firm grip on the party apparatus, was able to impose his viewpoints and strengthen his own position in the Ba'ath by getting six of his most loyal supporters

into the Revolutionary Command. Among them are Ali Hassan el-Majid, a Takriti cousin of his who incidentally holds the key post of chief of internal security; Minister of Information Latif Nusayyef Jassem, an old and staunchly faithful crony of the President; and Fadel Barak el-Takriti, the all-powerful head of "foreign intelligence".

The July congress moreover confirmed the disgrace of Naim Haddad, a historic leader, who had been ousted first from the party's regional command and then from the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), the state's highest political body. No explanation was given for the fall of this figure who since 1973 had been presiding over the destinies of the Progressive National Front (PNF) made up of the Ba'ath Party, the Communist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

All we know is that Naim Haddad, who was one of the very few Iraqi Shia leaders, had been on the way down since 1982 when he was removed from his post as Deputy Prime Minister without any explanation. In 1984 he lost the post of speaker of the National Assembly to Saadoun Hammedi and was replaced at the head of the PNF by the present Trade Minister, Hassan Ali. True, at the time, the Progressive Front had only a shadowy existence since the Communists, fleeing an increasingly severe crackdown, went underground. Was Haddad made the scapegoat for the setback suffered by the Front which was supposed to seal the alliance of the nation's "patriotic forces"?

However that may be, Naim Haddad found himself under house surveillance this year, and if the *Lebanese newspaper Al-Safir* is to be believed, he was killed a month ago. Some explain the disgrace of a man, known as a relative moderate, by the fact that his name was put forward by Omar Hazzak's friends as a possible replacement for President Saddam Hussein. It is noteworthy that there is not a single major military figure among those who were promoted in July. Which appears to suggest that the Ba'athist government's distrust of certain officers has not been dispelled.

The army has admittedly been long infiltrated by the regime's faithful henchmen. But many of the key posts are still occupied by "conventional military men" known here as "Mosulians". Historically, the original hardcore of the army was made up of

officers who came from Mosul. In spite of the political ups and downs Iraq has been through in the course of the last 20 years, the officers trained at the Mosul Military Academy are bound by a powerful *esprit de corps*, even if a large number of them joined the Ba'ath Party, either out of conviction or for careerist reasons.

Obviously, no conflict can break out between Ba'athist officers and "Mosulians" so long as the Iranian threat hangs over the country, but there is frequent friction. Among other things, Mosul-trained officers blame meddling by the party's civilian officials for the setbacks suffered on the ground. However, even if they have not succeeded in getting themselves represented at the Revolutionary Command level, the conventional military men have had many of their demands met. In particular, they have been granted more freedom at the front where they can now act without having necessarily to refer to the political authorities in Baghdad.

As one Arab military observer in Baghdad pointed out, the army in all probability "has been placed under tight surveillance" and for the moment poses no threat to the government. President Saddam Hussein indeed has two army corps wholly dedicated to him — the presidential guard and the air force — to safeguard his rear. Units of the regular army are kept under surveillance by a network which parallels the military intelligence services and this is directly linked to the Ba'ath government. In addition, army units bristle with "political organisation officers", a sort of commissioner whose job is to track down and punish the least "defeatist" tendency both among the men and the officers. The war is not popular in Iraq and the number of deserters who have gone missing in the marshlands of the Khor-el-Harraz region in the south is estimated to exceed 30,000, not counting those who have joined up with the Kurdish rebels in the north.

Saddam Hussein is facing a formidable challenge. To be able to stand up to an Iranian army with plentiful supplies of troops (Iran's population is close to 45 million compared with Iraq's 15 million), he is forced to pursue a policy of intensive recruitment in a country where most families have lost at least one of their number in the war. He has succeeded in building a one million-strong standing army, but only half these men belong to regular units.

In June, the country's 60,000 or

so university students between 18 and 25, as well as their professors under 45, were drafted for three months of army training which coincided with the university holidays. The mobilisation of students and professors, who, rumour said, had been sent to the front line, caused public uproar. President Saddam Hussein had to go on television himself to reassure parents and explain that their children were undergoing training in army camps located behind the line. But anxiety is still running high, especially as secondary schoolchildren have now joined their elders in the camps.

The lack of enthusiasm shown by Iraqis in pursuing a war they had never approved accounts in part for Saddam Hussein's many recent offers of peace. His popularity rating has gone up since he declared in a message to the nation that he would not "for the moment" retaliate against Iranian missile attacks on Baghdad, thereby ruling out the spectre so dreaded here of another war of cities.

But the recovery Saddam Hussein has succeeded in establishing since the July congress is still vulnerable. A fresh Iranian offensive, followed by another breakthrough on the front, could call everything into question. Furthermore, with the economic situation worsening since the beginning of the year, if nothing is done to arrest it, there is a danger of the regime's social bases being undermined. The Ba'ath Party's and President Saddam Hussein's popularity rests on a policy of redistributing wealth, which tends to conceal social inequalities. Baghdad's leaders have always been anxious to wage the hostilities against Iran while at the same time developing the economy rapidly, and in this way has maintained the people's living standards. Now, since March, Iraq has practically no development plan, and the austerity measures the authorities were forced to take to offset the loss of earnings resulting from lower oil prices and the collapse of the dollar's exchange rate have begun to erode the Iraqis' living standards.

For the moment, thanks to existing stocks, the people have still not experienced any major supply problems, although some staple foodstuffs are running short. But lean times are ahead and they are likely to deal a new and serious blow to the morale of a population which has suffered so

ribly from a never-ending war.

(October 15)

Terrifying memories still haunt the people of Cameroon

BAMENDA — Five weeks have gone by. Up there on the sloping banks of the lake, the dead of Nyos are buried in the "accursed" soil and time will not be able to wipe the terrible memory from everyone's thoughts. What the survivors and the others, persons moved out for their own safety, need most of all is perhaps psychological assistance. Then there remains the daily chores, the task of living — eating, sleeping, putting on clothes, working, finding an equilibrium again, a place in society, in the community.

On this point, the Cameroonian authorities are right. International aid, with its thousands of blankets, tons of milk powder, rice, canned sardines and corned beef, and hundreds of tents will not soften the "sociological trauma". Is it not, after all, a mere "drop of water", as the Minister of Territorial Administration points out. And yet, how the world rallied.

All along the newly constructed landing strip at Bamenda are hangars crammed with foodstuffs and they are kept regularly supplied from Douala and Yaoundé. "A vast catharsis of the world's good conscience?", as some "sensible" persons are quietly pointing out. The controversy, which is bound to arise when such events happen, is pointless. Manifestations of solidarity of such magnitude are admittedly sometimes not free of reservations, competition between some humanitarian and governmental organisations, waste, misappropriation and people "who are going to make millions". It is obviously impossible to keep vultures away from human distress.

Here also, especially here, where people are so sensitive to outside criticism, the minister, government, prefect and the colonel all swear that nothing of the sort will happen, that "precautions" have

been taken, that innumerable "checks" have been established. But rumours are swelling insidiously and fanning the controversy and, helped by the political "renewal", the Cameroon press, normally reverential, is beginning to dare to raise its voice and ask questions. A round-table conference was recently organised by

By Laurent Zecchini

Radio Cameroon. The National Committee for Receiving and Managing Urgent Aid for the Wum casualties had "nothing to hide", said its chairman, who assured the "accounts will be made public."

The airport runway is empty of planes. The helicopters are all being overhauled at Yaoundé. "They have been working hard for the past month," explained the governor of the Northwest Province, Wilson Mboe Ntuba. Inside

the warehouses, guarded by the army, a makeshift table has been set up amid piles of parcels. It is here that the "officials" meet every morning to examine the demands made by the various refugee centres and decide where to send relief supplies in military trucks. Standing before a wall of boxes containing bottles of mineral water, military rations, sacks of flour and cans of cooking oil, the "accountant" sent by Yaoundé carefully ticked off on his big school exercise book a detailed list of items: "We have received 2,400 100-kilo bags of rice, 800 50-kilo bags, 60 30-kilo bags and 100,000 blankets. We receive each week a ton of chicken. We have a cold room here with ten tons or so of fish."

Disembodied statistics. What about the people? In the absence of helicopters, the only way to reach Wum, the last locality before the "forbidden zone", is by the "ring road". About

a mile from the airport, the metalled surface becomes a bumpy red earth track. It takes roughly two and a half hours to travel the 80 kilometres.

The mountains begin again and heavy trucks come hurtling down the slopes. Unexpectedly around a bend you come upon a man playing a reed pipe. Further on, children cry out in surprise to see arriving, so long after the tragedy, another white man. For three weeks the region had been swarming with scores of scientists, journalists, soldiers and Japanese children away with their cameras.

Now it was raining in Wum, a violent rain which bothered neither the children in blue overalls returning from school nor the traders, huddling under multicoloured umbrellas, selling vegetables from their modest stalls. Wum is trying to recover its wits, perhaps its normality. The

Continued on page 14

'Quotable'

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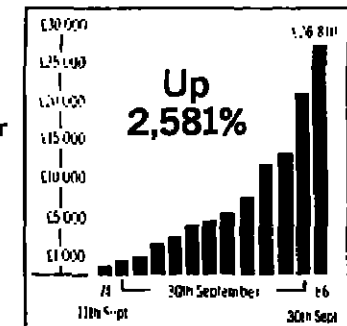
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"ALEXANDRE DE MARENCHES is not only telling the story of France in his own way, he's also telling stories." This was the comment made by a former Resistance activist and retired civil servant who used to work in the foreign documentation section of counter-intelligence, about his former departmental head's allegations that the SDECE was holding Abwehr and Gestapo archives allegedly casting doubts on the honour of French Resistance figures in World War II.

"M de Marenches," said this former civil servant, "never properly appreciated the work done by the French Resistance inside the country, and what he says is not credible as he operates on the basis of parallels, allusions and half-truths or hearsay."

What exactly does De Marenches say? When he became managing-director of the SDECE in 1970, he says he saw huge bundles of files; up to ten tons of documents, crammed higgledy-piggledy into a pilbox belonging to his department that nobody had the nerve to examine. And he adds that he made a few random samplings and what he discovered was unpleasant, even painful.

"We found prominent figures who had, or claimed to have, been Resistance workers and good patriots," says De Marenches. "In fact, they were in the pay of the German secret service. They even signed receipts for their thirty pieces of silver."

De Marenches adds that he stopped reading the files because "we didn't need to rake the muck, to call it nothing more." The files, he says, concerned prominent figures who are still alive.

These allegations are made in the book "Dans le secret des princes", written with the journalist Christine Ockrent. In an interview he gave earlier to Le Monde, the former SDECE head not only stuck by what he had written but expanded on it: "Bogus Resistance workers are, for example, people who to clear their names at the last minute joined up at the eleventh hour at the Liberation claiming to have worked for the Resistance when in fact they had nothing to do with it or had been collaborating with the enemy to one degree or another. Then there were some people who had been arrested for 'economic crimes' when they came out of prison, claimed to have been held for their Resistance activities, though the truth was they had been swindling both sides."

Former Resistance workers who have served in the SDECE do not

quarrel with the description of "workers of the eleventh hour", a commonplace enough thing, who were unmasked in their time and sometimes convicted after the Liberation when the facts could be pieced together. But what they protest against is the version De Marenches gives — a "distorted" version, they say — of the "ten tons" of Gestapo and Abwehr archives stored in SDECE files.

Nobody is denying the existence, if not the exact size, of the archives, and that they are stored underground at the Noisy-le-Sec military fort in an eastern suburb of Paris. The fort is now used as a centre for training the special action teams of the former SDECE which have now become the eleventh shock paratroop regiment. The archives were in a much better condition than De Marenches cares to admit, although they had been affected by damp. Like other, more general, records of the whole service, they were stored in one place and guarded by specially trained personnel.

The differences of opinions start with the files' origins. De Marenches claims they are the "notorious Nazi archives of the Gestapo and Abwehr that were seized at the Liberation and which the Germans did not manage to take away with them." SDECE officers who have had the opportunity of seeing the archives think De Marenches is jumping to conclusions. As one of them pointed out: "There are German archives and there are archives from Germany."

For many years the SDECE collection — it is not the only government department that has German archives — was built up by intermittent additions of documents gathered in Paris or the provinces which had been left behind by the Germans when they were forced to hurriedly evacuate

their offices in prefectures and military command centres. Above all, files and papers also came from Germany itself when French intelligence services preceded or followed in the wake of the 1st Army and other Allied units as they pushed into what became the Occupation Zone. Finally, there were documents that came from Austria.

Generally speaking, their quality and authenticity vary widely depending on whether they are original documents seized at source, copies supplied by Allied intelligence services with which exchanges were arranged, or minutes of interrogations of prisoners, collaborators, informers or people

By Jacques Isnard

who betrayed their native countries. In short, De Marenches has given the impression of talking about only one part of the facts.

But what hurts is the former SDECE head's assertion that nobody, before him, had the idea or the courage to examine such archives.

Former Resistance figures, SDECE civil servants, still working today or retired, declare on the contrary that counter-intelligence teams, led by Colonel Paul Gerard Dubot in Germany and Colonel Roger Lafont alias Verneuil and Colonel Jean Allemand in France, whose job it was in fact to examine these archives, did not wait for De Marenches to make use of them. And this work went on until the early '50s with the backing of intelligence experts (under the orders of General Neuhäuser in Germany and Captain Trautmann in France) — that is, right up to the time that French counter-intelligence listening posts in Germany were moved back into France bringing with them the files they had seized and utilised.

Nevertheless, the discovery of such a receipt does not signify an act of supposed treachery by its signatory. On this point too former

conceded this former Resistance worker and retired SDECE officer. "Remember the country's mood at the time. We were the 'avengers' and the memory was still fresh in the minds of each of us of a comrade who had fallen into the Nazis' clutches because he had been betrayed. We wouldn't have kept a Frenchman who had betrayed his country alive. And we couldn't do it for another reason just as pressing. We had to guard against possible investigation of the famous Surveillance du Territoire, headed by the no-less-famous Roger Wybot, a Gaullist secret service veteran, who would not have liked the idea of foreigners, Soviets for instance, being able to blackmail one of our informants by claiming to have discovered his past from the Berlin archives. For all these reasons, therefore, we had to make the Gestapo and Abwehr archives 'talk', and we didn't hesitate to do that."

All the files have one special feature. In addition to containing a record of the "output" of the persons manipulated by the German secret services, each also has an identification dossier which could be taken out when someone not authorized to know the identity of the agent asked to consult the file. This more personal dossier could also contain records of payments made to the agent, the amount, and a receipt signed by him certifying the deal. "The German secret services did not like sloppy work," says a former SDECE officer who remembers such documents coming into his hands. He claimed that all secret services operate this way. The French secret services also insist on their foreign collaborators giving signed receipts.

Nevertheless, the discovery of such a receipt does not signify an act of supposed treachery by its signatory. On this point too former

SDECE officers disagree with this one-time managing-director who compares such payments to an "ultimate treachery" when he declares he had taken "samplings" of the "ten tons" of Gestapo and Abwehr archives stored at the Noisy-le-Sec fort.

Here the case of what are popularly known as "double agents" has to be raised. Specialists prefer to describe them as "controlled agents" when they talk about the case of an operative who is in contact with the enemy and who is ordered to pass on disinformation. In World War II many double agents operated in Gaullist networks in London, Algiers and the Resistance. They were instructed to keep giving signed receipts right up to the end, but they are not guilty of anything for all that.

Even if it insisted on signed receipts, the SDECE for its part decided to operate in a different way with its agents who were a touch with the enemy. Their files were subjected to special treatment and they are not included in the department's central archives so as to prevent any later identification at all.

On one point, however, what De Marenches says about the Gestapo and Abwehr files does not differ significantly from what his former subordinates are saying. SDECE civil servants do in fact recall having transported, on their managing-director's orders, a part of the files stored at the Noisy-le-Sec fort sometime after 1970 to the headquarters on the Boulevard Mortier in Paris for more detailed examination. De Marenches got to hear of the archives' existence from one of his advisers at the Tournefort barracks who did not know just how well their information had been utilised. Doubtless believing it to be a major find, the SDECE boss ordered what he later described as "samplings" to be taken.

A three-man team, including a colonel and a civil servant — both working in the archives section — once again plunged into the documents previously inventoried in the hope of detecting anything that might have gone unnoticed in the first search. Witnesses from that period agree the samplings provided pretty slim pickings: "files", as one of them admitted. "The archives have already spoken," he said, and added he could not understand why in 1986 — and only a few months before Klaus Barbie is to go on trial — Alexandre de Marenches should have chosen to bring up facts covered by the amnesty.

(October 14)

The Washington Post

The Test For An Arms Agreement

PHASE 1 of the post-summit revelations was deep disappointment. Phase 2 was a revival of hope. Phase 3, still in train, turns out to be discovering what really was proposed and agreed to and determining whether it is in the American interest. This is not easy, given the fatigue that burdened attentiveness at Reykjavik and the complexity and controversy inherent in these affairs. There are troublesome impressions among the official accounts of just how the issues were treated at Reykjavik and what posture they were left in.

So expert an observer as Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), for instance, has been unable to pin down whether the administration proposed to have and then eliminate just ballistic missiles or, in addition, the remaining strategic offensive weapons (bombers and cruise missiles) or, in addition to these, according to White House chief of staff Don Regan, "all nuclear weapons, nuclear bombs, nuclear shells for artillery."

Nor is it clear what the United States agreed to: President Reagan, receiving the congressional leadership last week, nodded affirmatively when asked by Sen. Nunn if he had agreed to eliminate all strategic offensive nuclear arms by 1996. But a few minutes later, the chief of staff said: "We never got a chance to finish that conversation because the thing (weapons to be eliminated in the second five years) was swept off the table at the time of the breakup."

They didn't finalize on that," Mikhail Gorbachev, meanwhile, was saying in Moscow the same day that decision on his package proposal including elimination of strategic offensive weapons remained "one, two or three steps" away.

Presumably, careful reconstruction will remove the embarrassment and confusion about exactly what the United States proposed and committed to. That will still leave a series of substantive questions. Some of these questions arise from choices that the administration made in planning for the summit — especially the choice to hold open options for the Strategic Defense Initiative — and others from President Reagan's startling decision to engage in rapid, impromptu bargaining on the weightiest issues without having consulted variously the Joint Chiefs of Staff or affected European allies. The questions go to the strategic and political consequences of the arms control course taken by the president at this most astonishing, free-form summit.

Arms control, it can never be forgotten, is a means not an end, though it has a public that considers it an end. Its proper purpose is to make the United States and the world more secure. An arms control agreement that does not do this is a bad agreement. This is the test that needs to be applied as the administration assembles the pieces of Reykjavik and moves on.

The Only Winner — Mutual Distrust

By Philip Geyelin

IN search of a Spirit of Reykjavik, do we take our cue from an emotional, "deeply disappointed" Secretary of State George Shultz in Iceland? Or from his calm claim the next day at NATO headquarters in Brussels that the Iceland summit was a "success" and that it would only have been a "failure not to try" and press on?

Do we accept the president's claim that "great strides were made"? Or the judgment of old hands at negotiating with the Soviets that "nothing is agreed to until everything is agreed to"? In that case, the next hard slog at the Geneva arms talks will be less hung up on Ronald Reagan's cherished Strategic Defense Initiative than was Iceland's whirlwind round.

All these questions come down in the end to one question: If space defense has indeed been identified at Iceland as the sticking point, and if the Soviets are as hell-bent on strangling it in research laboratories as the Reagan administration contends, is there any prospect of some loosening up on the American side?

I am not suggesting that America is under some obligation to be more conciliatory than the Soviets. The case can be made that the Soviet perspective at Iceland was a trap: Mikhail Gorbachev made sweeping offers of deep cuts in offensive weapons, and other concessions; knowing that the whole thing would collapse once he sprung an SDI demand he knew Mr. Reagan could not accept.

But the point is that, when confronted with Mr. Gorbachev's proposal to tighten the ABM agreement to rule out development or testing outside the laboratory, the administration came back with a counter-proposal it had to know the Soviets could not accept. The counterproposal would have delayed actual deployment of an ABM system for 10 years, instead of seven, but left the United States with a free hand to develop and test in space revolutionary new technologies for "offensive" warfare, conventional or otherwise. Meantime, both sides would be cutting back ballistic missiles to zero.

To hear Mr. Reagan tell it in his homecoming address, a 10-year delay of SDI deployment sounds like a big concession. "Our scientists researching such a system are convinced it is practical and that several years down the road we can have such a system ready to deploy," he told his television audience. But most scientists are convinced of no such thing.

Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, the president's director of SDI research, said as recently as last July on CBS's "Nightwatch" that it would be at least until "after the mid-1990s" before deployment could begin, and then only if the research proves out and whoever is president gives the go-ahead by 1992.

Mr. Reagan, then, was giving away nothing. Worse, he was displaying once again what it is that has given his approach to the SDI a dreamlike quality ever since his famous "star wars" speech in March 1983. When he fastened on a batch of more or less unfocused, futuristic research projects and elevated them to the level of a comprehensive program to build an impenetrable nuclear shield, "changing the course of human history," Iceland reaffirms not just the president's conviction that a shield can be built, but also his belief that it will ultimately protect adversaries and allies alike. Once again he promised that America would share the know-how, once it had it, with the Soviets. He told Mr. Gorbachev that the SDI would guard against "cheating" or the possibility of a "madman" recreating nuclear missiles. Mr. Gorbachev said that only a "madman" would put his country at the risk of such a deal.

I think that both men meant what they said and that, for both, a deep fear of "cheating" remains, alas, the key. For all the highs of the Reykjavik roller coaster it came down in the end to the depths of mutual distrust.

It was in just this sense that the only true spirit of Reykjavik was captured by Donald Regan. While the president characteristically kept his cool, the White House chief of staff was hopping mad. "The Soviets are the ones that caused this whole scene to hap-

pen," he cried out. "It shows them up for what they are." For Mr. Reagan the summit was not a diplomatic donnybrook but an ideological wrestling match. His man "stood firm," he said, adding that the SDI "is our strong card" and "we shouldn't give it away."

Reagan The Passionate Dreamer

By David S. Broder

THE ICELAND summit was a lost opportunity. You had only to look at Secretary of State George Shultz's desolate countenance to know his emotions.

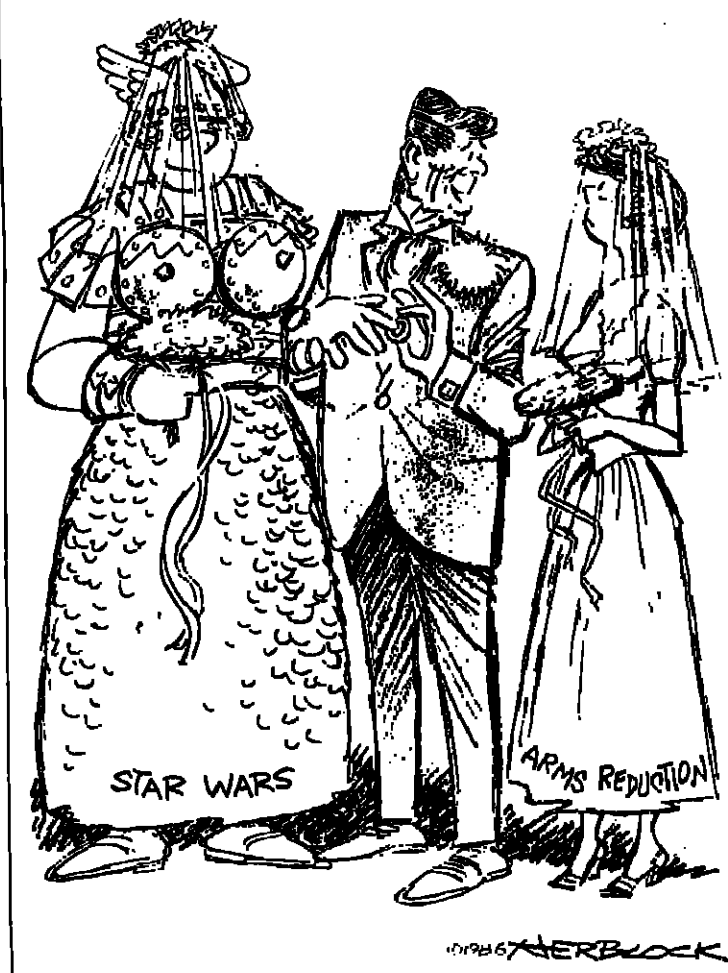
The latest meeting of American and Soviet leaders stands as testament to all those warnings we have heard over the years about the risks of hasty, ill-prepared summits.

Senator Sam Nunn, the most respected voice on arms control issues in Congress, offered the judgment that President Reagan and his team were taken unawares by the Russian proposal that both sides cut their nuclear forces in half, and that the U.S. response was anything but well considered. Mr. Nunn questioned whether the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff would have endorsed Mr. Reagan's proposal to eliminate all nuclear weapons in 10 years, given the Russian advantage in conventional infantry tanks and artillery.

Mr. Nunn also said that Mr. Reagan seemed to have shifted his main goal from immediately reducing offensive weapons — an area where Russia may be superior — to preserving the possibility of the Strategic Defense Initiative someday becoming an invulnerable shield against attack. The Georgia Democrat has supported SDI research funds in the face of significant scientific skepticism, but even he said, "It looks to me like the thing is out of focus."

As one with limited expertise in these matters, I would just say that arms control is an area where the supposedly strong presidency of Ronald Reagan has most often been exposed to evident pulling

"I THOUGHT MAYBE THE THREE OF US COULD, SORT OF, YOU KNOW..."



Fears still linger of Cameroon's poisonous lake

Continued from page 12

prefect, Yengo Francis, recounted: "Americans, Israelis, Italians, Spaniards, Britons, Japanese, Nigerians... We've had all the world's journalists, we weren't ready to receive all these foreigners, but we coped, and everything went off well." The prefect had requisitioned all available vehicles the day after the bottom of the lake opened up as it belched lethal gases.

The "displaced persons" in Wum, Kimbi, Kunfutu, Nkambe and other areas have been regrouped and housed in tents and sometimes, as here, in permanent structures: it is a "temporary" arrangement that is likely to last a long time, at least until the international forum due to open in Yaoundé in December. Who knows, perhaps the scientists at this meeting will at last agree on the precise causes of the catastrophe, on the risks for this region where lakes are so numerous of further outpourings of carbonic and sulphurous gases, and also on

the site where the people should be resettled.

What about going to Nyos to take a look around, as so many Bamenda folk driven by a worried and morbid curiosity would like to do? The prefect was categorical: "It's become impossible even with a four-wheel drive." The track, already difficult, has been made impassable by the torrential rains and the passage of aid vehicles. Efforts by rescuers to bury the animals on the spot proved fruitless. Neither quicklime nor fire could cope with the problem, and it was decided to let the thousands of carcasses rot where they lay.

As a result, with waterways polluted, there is a real risk of epidemics. For how long? Nobody can say. But refugees, farmers and herdsmen still go to the areas to try to save what they had. "If we find people cultivating their fields in the area, we're not going to turn the army on them to drive them out," conceded the Minister of Territorial Administration.

This is why perhaps that the

buildings of the St Martin parish were almost empty. Some 30 beds stocked with sufficient blankets were carefully lined up in a long dormitory and there was a blackboard on the wall with a list of all the occupants. A few women were sleeping there, several children looked healthy enough and five or six men hung around idly. The picture was pretty much the same elsewhere, as for example in the former farm training centre where several brand-new tents had been set up around the buildings, but they were empty. There were problems of coexistence between tribal groups, between the Foulanis (Peuls) and the "native" groups, the Bum, the Fungom, Nyos and Chah. Orphans were also causing problems with families who had lost all their members quarrelling over their ownership, as if fighting for their lives. The hospitals were choked with refugees and only a few injured persons were there. What to do? Where to go?

The toll: 1,887 dead, 2,913 home-

less, including 975 children of school-age, perhaps 10,000 head of cattle lost. Some people however continue to speak of 5,000 refugees and 3,000 dead. In Bamenda, the governor totted up his requirements: some 40 classrooms would be needed. He rejected the estimate of 8.6 million CFA francs (about £17,000) for each classroom that he was given knowing very well it should not exceed 4.5 million CFA francs. In Yaoundé the Minister of Territorial Administration spoke of "88 classrooms". Will the 988 million CFA francs financial aid given by the world community be properly utilised? What proportion of the 800 metric tons of goods sent into Cameroon will be in fact distributed? And what of the seven tons of mineral water sent ten days after the disaster by Greece, the tons of tons of macabos sent by Morocco which are rotting in a Douala warehouse and the thousands of gas masks sent by France which turned out to be useless?

The "prefab village for 500

persons" promised by Israel will doubtless prove useful if it is built. It would no doubt also be more useful in such a landlocked region to build a few score kilometres of roads. But the rest? Should international help be still sought, as the Cameroon authorities are doing? How are the freedslaves to be treated? Could detection devices be installed near the lakes to warn of another catastrophe? Why when at the same time in the month of August 1984, 34 people were found dead on the banks of the same lake, Monoun, killed by the same geological phenomenon, was nothing done? The accused lake has stopped spawning questions.

(October 11)

Le Monde
Directeur: André Fontaine
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THE REYKJAVIK summit marked a battle between the two illusions that have propelled Ronald Reagan during his second term: the illusion of painless, comprehensive arms control, and the illusion of perfect security through the Strategic Defense Initiative. In Reykjavik, the SDI illusion won out.

The summit unfortunately leaves American strategic weapons policy in some disarray. For despite President Reagan's breezy explanation of what happened in Iceland, his administration's strategic policies seem confused, contradictory and, in some instances, potentially dangerous to American security.

The pieces of Reagan's arms control policy don't quite fit together. We have a president who is pushing for radical reductions in nuclear weapons, and even for the complete abolition of ballistic missiles within 10 years. Yet this same president, the last we heard, was planning to violate the relatively loose SALT II limits on strategic weapons next month, on the grounds that they are too restrictive. Something doesn't quite make sense here.

These post-Reykjavik questions don't mean that President Reagan was wrong to reject the deal proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev. He was probably right. Any deal negotiated in such a rushed, make-or-break atmosphere deserves a more careful and deliberate decision. So it's probably just as well that the confused jumble of accords contemplated at Reykjavik wasn't signed.

The result was an unwieldy collection of proposals — some of them appearing to contradict the intent of other proposals — that ultimately fell of its own weight.

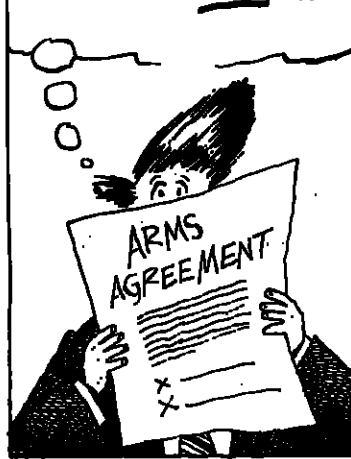
The administration's happy talk since the summit has obscured the underlying confusion in U.S. arms policies. But the chaotic bargaining at Reykjavik should force the administration to sharpen its strategic policies so that they form a coherent set of goals and the basis for both arms control bargaining and Pentagon planning.

As of now, however, there is this jumble: The top U.S. strategic priority, following Reykjavik, is preserving the option of developing SDI defenses. The number and composition of U.S. and Soviet offensive forces (previously the

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PROJECTS IN EXOTIC
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...DEEP CUTS IN
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EXTINCTION OF THE
PLANET TODAY...



U.S. Weapons Policy In Disarray

By David Ignatius

dominant American strategic concern) now apparently are of secondary importance. The administration is prepared to give up the security benefits that would result from sharp cuts in Soviet offensive weapons to maintain the option to develop and deploy a defensive system that exists today only on paper.

President Reagan, as one retired general put it, "isn't trading a bird in hand for one in the bush. He's trading a bird in hand for nothing in the bush."

The administration, in embracing radical disarmament, appears to have forgotten that nuclear weapons help keep the peace. President Reagan's proposal to abolish all ballistic missiles within 10 years (if it is to be taken seriously) would scrap the weapons that have kept the peace for a generation — again in favor of the promise of a thus far unproven vision of strategic defense. The United States would retain some

nuclear muscle under the Reagan proposal, in the form of cruise missiles and bomber weapons. But even so, the vision of global disarmament that Reagan embraced at Reykjavik is no more sensible in Reagan's version than it was when proclaimed by the advocates of a nuclear freeze. As one nuclear strategist puts it: "In a world without ballistic missiles, Gadhafi is king."

Reagan's offer to share SDI technology with the Soviets (again, if it is to be taken seriously) is dangerous to the security interests of the United States. If we do proceed along the dubious course of SDI deployment, sharing the technology with the Soviets would be folly. The Soviets already have inherent advantages in offensive systems (including a far larger usable land area in which to hide mobile missiles; a more pliant population that will not challenge deployment of these mobile missiles along highways and railroad

tracks; and a closed society's advantage in stockpiling weapons secretly in violation of disarmament agreements). By adding to these inherent Soviet offensive advantages the defensive secrets of SDI, the United States would be, potentially, slitting its own throat. We might not use SDI as a shield behind which to launch a first strike, but there is no guarantee that the Soviets wouldn't.

SDI, which Reagan has now made the cornerstone of our strategic policy, is itself an incoherent program. Officials cannot explain how, more than three years after the program was launched, exactly what its goal is. Is it Reagan's noble but technologically dubious goal of making nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete? Is it the equally ambitious goal of assuring the survival of the American population? Is the goal protecting our Minutemen alos against Soviet attack? Or the even more nebulous goal of increasing the level of

THE GUARDIAN, October 26, 1986

uncertainty in the minds of Soviet attack planners? To this day, there isn't a clear answer as to which of these goals SDI is really pursuing. Some of them may be worth jeopardizing American security (in the way that breaking the ABM treaty would require). Others, such as increasing the survivability of our ICBM force, almost certainly are not worth the risks of violating ABM. They can be achieved in other less dangerous and less expensive ways.

SDI, advertised by the president as a boon to American security, could in fact make the nation less secure, even if the technology worked perfectly. That's because in a world of asymmetrical defenses, in which the United States and the Soviets both have SDI systems in place, the United States will lose much of its retaliatory punch. A U.S. SDI system that could stop 5,000 incoming Soviet warheads might well prevent the Soviets from destroying our land-based missiles. But an equivalent Soviet SDI system would cut nearly to zero the number of our retaliatory warheads that could survive a first strike and penetrate the Soviet Union.

Some strategists liken the effect of a Soviet SDI defense to a breakthrough in Soviet anti-submarine warfare techniques that would allow the Soviets to find and destroy our missile-carrying subs.

If that sounds strange, consider the following example: Today, if Moscow launched a first strike against the United States, we could count on a retaliatory strike by about 3,000 warheads aboard our submarines. After both sides deployed defenses, however, we no longer could be sure that these submarine-based warheads would reach their targets. Soviet defenses would take them out, just as surely as if Soviet torpedoes had destroyed the submarines underwater.

By this measure, the traditional calculus of deterrence, the United States might actually be more vulnerable in an SDI world. If nothing else, it's reason to pause before embracing President Reagan's decision to make SDI the centerpiece of our national security policy.

David Ignatius is an associate editor of *The Washington Post*.

THE GUARDIAN, October 26, 1986

Shultz Comes Into His Own

By David B. Ottaway

SECRETARY of State George Shultz, whose fortunes within the faction-ridden Reagan administration have varied greatly over the last four years, appears to have emerged finally as President Reagan's preeminent strategist in the search for an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

The Iceland summit, whatever it may hold for the future, seems to have given the long-enduring secretary a new importance, not only for picking up the pieces of the various potential arms agreements sketched at Reykjavik but also for reopening the dialogue between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

No one who attended the summit, or watched the secretary's televised news conference at its end, is likely ever to forget the sense almost of grief etched across Shultz's usually expressionless face as he told the world about the "potentially tremendous achievements" contained in "the agreement that might have been" but that was not to be. His cheeks were red and his eyes slightly glazed, the most telling signs to reporters who have long covered him that the secretary was truly upset.

But as soon as he had returned from the Reykjavik summit, the secretary recovered his usual composure and set out on a whirlwind blitz of the news media to try to change the first image of the summit as a failure — an image he did much to shape with his initial expression of "deep disappointment" with the results.



George Shultz

Whether the summit will prove to have been a breakthrough or dead end for these negotiations, only time will tell. But the Reykjavik summit does appear to mark a turning point in the career of a man who has carefully bided his time and endured the administration's infighting to become the president's chief lobbyist in what the secretary has called "the highest-stakes poker game ever played."

Throughout the two-day summit, it was Shultz who sat on the left-hand side of the president, most of the time alone with only Gorbachev, Shultz's counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, two notetakers and two translators present. Shultz now has clocked more hours in talks with top Soviet leaders than anyone else in the administration. It was Shultz's man, Paul Nitze, who led the all-night Saturday negotiations with an open brief to extract whatever he could out of them.

It was also Shultz, who after haggling more than 14 hours with Shevardnadze in Washington in

mid-September and then another seven hours in four subsequent New York meetings, worked out the deal that led to the coordinated releases of American reporter Nicholas Daniloff and Gennadi Zakharov, the Soviet U.N. employee indicted on spying charges. The "arrangement," as administration officials preferred to call it, cleared the way for holding the Reykjavik summit.

It also exposed Shultz to charges from conservatives circles that what he had engineered was a thinly disguised "swap" of an innocent American "hostage" for a Soviet "spy," the kind of trade-off Reagan had promised never to make.

Shultz's emergence as the president's preeminent foreign affairs adviser has been a long time in coming. For more than four years, the self-effacing secretary has survived repeated ups and downs in the Reagan administration's fierce bureaucratic infighting. More often than not, he has been portrayed in the media as the loser to his hard-line rivals at the Pentagon, and on several occasions he was reported to be on the verge of resignation.

Two events in particular seem to have worked to his advantage. The first was the resignation last December of Reagan's national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, and his replacement by a far less forceful figure, John M. Poindexter. At the same time, the influence of Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger also is clearly on the wane, leaving the way open for Shultz to press his own views at the White House.

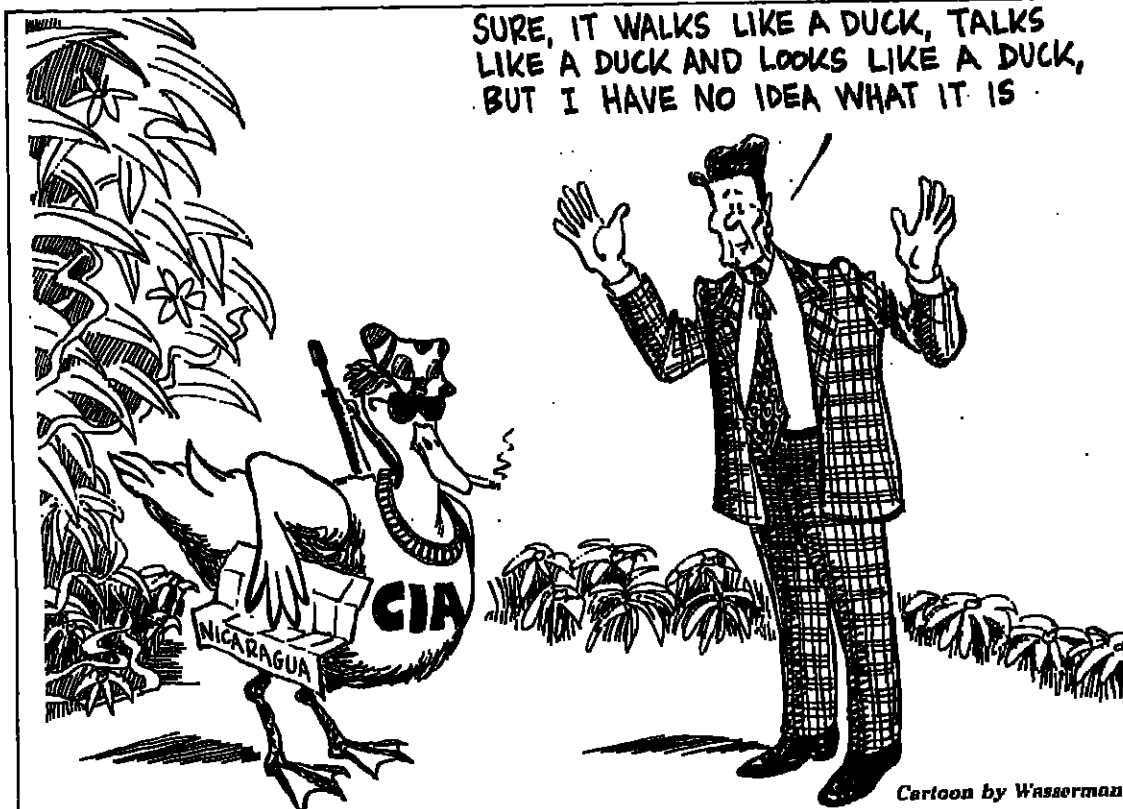
The second, crucial development was Reagan's increasing concern with his own presidential legacy and his desire to see whether it might be possible to reach an arms control agreement with the Soviets as the crowning achievement of his administration.

In many ways, Shultz's views now on dealing with the Soviet Union seem to parallel closely those of the president himself, reflecting the same deep-seated doubt about whether the Soviets really can be trusted when it comes to striking a deal.

The secretary's own ambivalence was reflected in his early reaction to the Reykjavik summit, expressed on his plane to reporters as he flew from Iceland to Brussels to brief NATO foreign ministers on what had happened.

On one hand, Shultz was unusually full of praise for the Soviets, saying they had made "a lot of constructive proposals" and engaged in "a tremendous amount of creative, constructive give-and-take. And I give them full credit for a lot of progress," he said.

On the other hand, Shultz said that — like the president — he was extremely wary of the Soviets, repeatedly saying the United States needed "as great a degree of assurance as you possibly can" before giving up on SDI. He told reporters that Reagan himself had summed up their common sentiment during "his" talks with Gorbachev. The president, he said, at one point turned to the Soviet leader and used a Russian expression "the gist of whose meaning was 'In God we trust; all others (pay) cash.'"



Cartoon by Wasserman

The Contras' Air Link

FINALLY there is clear, conspicuous, undeniable proof of gunrunning across the Nicaragua-El Salvador border. The trouble is, from the U.S. government's viewpoint, it is not proof of Nicaragua's support of Salvadoran rebels — although that support has been substantial and continuing and accounts for the scale of the Salvadoran insurgency. It is proof of support for the Contras from the Salvadoran side of the border. You can now find people who say they have known for years that the planes were flying in, but it was not widely and plainly known. It has become a modest embarrassment not just to the United States but to El Salvador, which has lost its claim to be simply a victim of intervention, rather than a party to it.

But who is running the guns? The Sandinistas, producing a confession from the lone survivor of an arms-laden plane shot down on October 5, insist it was a CIA operation. Circumstantial information developed in the American press suggests the same possibility. But the U.S. government has repeatedly denied any official hand, insisting that it has not violated the congressional ban on aid and explaining the supply traffic as the work of American citizens acting privately, legally and patriotically on their own. This picture is supported by, among others, leading opponents of contra aid on the congressional intelligence committee — people who could be expected to be sensitive to violations of the law and who are in a position to be informed.

It was never a secret that the administration strained in every fiber to promote aid for the Contras. It could yet be that officials not only made an effort to know what private individuals and groups were doing but slipped into facilitating or coordinating their work. But this has not been proved. Meanwhile, it is useful to recall the administration's pleas, in urging Congress to renew aid, that the Contras were starving for the supplies needed to fight on. Only now does it become known that a rather substantial, ostensibly private, air bridge from El Salvador was open. This says nothing about contra aid, which we believe was the wrong idea then and is the wrong idea now. But it says something important about the Contras — that their difficulties go well beyond matters of logistics and supply.

Airman Links Bush With Operation

By Edward Walsh and Julia Preston

EUGENE HASENFUS, the American survivor from the aircraft that was shot down over Nicaragua on October 5, said in a broadcast interview on Sunday that he believed Vice President Bush was well aware of the private operation to resupply the Nicaraguan rebels. In the interview on CBS he said he was told the resupply effort for the Contras was similar to CIA-sponsored operations in which he took part in Southeast Asia.

He estimated that about 14 Americans operating out of El Salvador were engaged in the underground effort to resupply the Contras with arms and ammunition. At a news conference in Managua four days after he was shot down, Hasenfus said 24 to 26 "company people," a term commonly used in connection with the CIA, were involved in the resupply operation from El Salvador.

Hasenfus said he was told that Bush and Max Gomez, a Cuban American also known as Felix Rodriguez, who was directing the supply operation, "were friends" from Gomez's earlier work for the CIA. He believed the Reagan administration "is backing this (the resupply operation) 100 percent." Asked if he had felt "that you were working for the U.S. government," he replied, "Yes, sir."

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The President Who Can Do No Wrong

Mary McGrory

Having contributed so heavily to the "collapse" and "failure" headlines, Shultz was sentenced to the hard labor of removing the crepe that was hung over the world's hopes at the news. Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter, the exclusive national security affairs adviser, was sent forth from his closet to give the sunny side to a press breakfast. He has the alert, frosty air of a bank officer who is going to

turn down your loan, and the discussion was devoted to his previous, celebrated "disinformation" initiative. But he was doing his bit to prove that it is morning again for arms control, if you look at it right.

Republicans on the House floor beat their breasts and congratulated themselves that we have a president that can say no to the Soviets, who had the courage to resist doing what President Nixon used to call "the easy, popular thing," which in this case would have been accepting Mikhail Gorbachev's astounding offer.

One fervent loyalist said Reagan had the "adoration" of the American people for slaving off the sneak Soviet attack on "Star Wars."

And, funny enough, "adoration" is exactly what is being accorded the president in the wake of the "tragedy" turned "triumph." It isn't just the right, which saw Reykjavik as a nuclear Yalta — the whole country is applauding.

And stranger still is the fact that his fellow citizens did not need the propaganda campaign to come to the view of hard-breathing right-winger Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) that the president had "performed magnificently" at the summit. Conservative, defense-minded

Sen. Sam Nunn (Ga.) was one of the few Democrats to question the Reagan walkout. He couldn't quite see the value of forgoing drastic weapons cuts to save the possibility of Star Wars, which is many years and a trillion dollars away from completion. He also wondered about the feasibility of complete elimination in view of the Soviet superiority in conventional forces. Nunn had no appreciation of the fact that if the game was sweeping offers, Reagan wanted to score against the Evil Empire.

The country had no such doubts. Even without coaching from administration alchemists, the public thought Reagan had done the right thing. Richard Wirthlin, the president's pollster, showed that the Tuesday after what the unknowing thought was Black Sunday, the president's approval rating jumped from 64 percent to 72 percent.

Was the summit a major setback? No, not according to 80 percent of those polled by Wirthlin after the grim exodus from Reykjavik.

Did Reagan blow the best chance ever to make a deal with the Soviets? Of the 500 people Wirthlin surveyed, 78 percent did not see it that way.

Do they want to continue Star Wars research? Before the summit, 62 percent supported it. After Reagan defended it against Gor-

bachiev, that number rose to 75 percent.

Wirthlin explained his astounding numbers to a group of reporters: The American people want to talk to the Soviets and reach arms agreement with them. "But there is still a very strong, deep-running and abiding distrust of the Soviets and their agreements," Reagan reflects their own concerns.

His abivalence, and theirs, was tested to the limits in Iceland. The fact that he walked away from the table is not held against him.

The American people do not judge Reagan, because he is them. What happens to the majority resistance to the Strategic Defense Initiative when he declares it "essential"? It melts. A Washington Post-ABC News poll reveals that while the public favors arms reductions over SDI, when you tell voters that their leader thinks that SDI is more important than reductions, they fall into line behind him.

It goes beyond the "blush" that comes over the face of the nation when polled as a president is unduly challenged from abroad. It goes to the possibility that Americans think Reagan is infallible, like the Pope. We can only hope he does not tell them that nuclear weapons are not dangerous. They will go mad and at his wisdom. Meanwhile, George Shultz can get some sleep.

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Nobel Peace Prize For Writer On Holocaust

A HUMAN rights campaigner who coined the word "holocaust" to describe the massacre of Jews during the second world war was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last week. Romanian-born Mr Elie Wiesel, aged 58 — himself a Jewish survivor of the concentration camps — now lives in the United States. "This is a very special day for me. I'm invaded by memories," he said after hearing of the award.

In an unprecedented step, Mr Egil Aarvik, chairman of the prize committee, picked out the rock star, Bob Geldof, another of the 81 candidates, for special mention. "He is worthy of all possible praise and honour," Mr Aarvik said of the Irishman, who organised the Band Aid and Live Aid events that raised millions of pounds for African famine relief. The

committee meets in secret and has never released names of failed candidates before or commented on their merits.

Bob Geldof said the prize had gone to the right man. "The citation was right. This man, since he left the concentration camps, has been a great moral and spiritual force and he deserves it for that." He was relieved that it had not gone to him. "I couldn't handle the moral baggage which goes with it. I couldn't go on Top of the Pops and know I was this moral flag."

Mr Wiesel is familiar to many Americans as the man who has kept remembrance of the holocaust alive in the United States for four decades through his writings on the nether world between life and death in Nazi concentration camps. With many of his dreams in the US fulfilled, including the

establishment of a holocaust museum in Washington, Mr Wiesel has devoted his time to other humanitarian causes in recent years.

He has become a leading campaigner for Soviet Jewry; he has adopted the cause of the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua; he went to Argentina to fight anti-semitism in the dark years of the generals, and most recently he had campaigned against apartheid in South Africa. Mr Wiesel has been described as "the spiritual architect of the holocaust" and the "messenger of the Jewish dead to the living."

He and his family were relatively untouched by the holocaust in Europe until the spring of 1944 when the Jews of Transylvania were suddenly rounded up by the Germans and put on a cattle train to

Auschwitz. The Nobel Academy praised Mr Wiesel as "one of the most important spiritual leaders and guides in an age when violence, repression and racism continue to characterise the world."

Mr Wiesel appeared puzzled at the timing of the award in 1986, although in recent years he has broadened his human rights activities. "I've worked for 30 years," he said, "actually doing the same thing, working from memory, always trying to defend the cause of remembrance for the sake of human beings rather than against them." He is the author of more than 26 books on the holocaust and the author of a play, *Zalmen*, on anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. He currently teaches at Boston University.

By Anthony Storr

Hitler's Perversion Of Medicine

THE NAZI DOCTORS. Medical Killing and The Psychology of Genocide. By Robert Jay Lifton. Basic Books. 661pp. \$19.95.

A LARGE number of doctors are known to have played an important part in running the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and in organising the infamous activities which went on in them, from cruel medical experiments to actual extermination. Robert Jay Lifton, who is already renowned for his books on Hiroshima, Vietnam, China and Japan, has spent nearly 10 years researching this book. He interviewed 80 former Auschwitz prisoners, most of them doctors, who had worked on medical blocks; 28 Nazi physicians, five of whom had worked in concentration camps; and a variety of other professional persons who had been prominent Nazis. As a Jew himself, Lifton acknowledges the difficulty he had in empathizing with the Nazis whom he interviewed. It is a tribute to his skill as a psychiatric interviewer that he has gone a long way toward explaining how it was that members of a profession dedicated to healing came to participate in brutality and murder.

Lifton has amply demonstrated that doctors played a vital role in extermination camps such as Auschwitz. They were responsible for selecting which prisoners should be kept alive for slave labor and which should immediately be killed. The old, the ill, the pregnant and those who were too young to work were generally gassed at once. At its peak, Auschwitz killed and cremated 20,000 Jews in the space of 24 hours. Doctors supervised the gassing, certified death and, in the early days, were required to issue false certificates attributing death to a variety of natural causes. When prisoners were flogged, doctors were required to certify their fitness to receive corporal punishment. Their advice was also sought when epidemics of typhus and other diseases broke out. The usual practice was to kill all those suffering from the disease and then sterilize their living quarters. Before the technique of gassing victims with Zyklon-B became established, doctors became expert at killing prisoners with injections of phenol. Research into methods of sterilization was actively encouraged. Doctors castrated males and injected caustic substances into the uteri of females with the object of permanently blocking their Fallopian tubes. Even more horrible experiments were carried out on the eyes of children. Prisoners were also deliberately infected with tuberculosis and typhus; exposed to extremes of cold; or starved to death.

It is only if one studies Nazi racist ideology and the gradual acceptance of the Nazi program of eugenics that one can understand the participation of physicians in such activities. Although other nations, including the United States, have passed laws compelling sterilization of the criminally insane and other undesirable, this policy was carried to extremes in Nazi Germany. Within a few months of Hitler's coming to power, an extensive sterilization program was instituted. Doctors were compelled to report cases of mental handicap, schizophrenia, manic-depression, epilepsy and a variety of supposedly hereditary defects, like some forms of blindness, deafness or even alcoholism. Huge numbers of men and women were compulsorily sterilized. The program soon went further.

"Mercy killing" was instituted for an ever increasing number of persons supposedly living "life unworthy of life" (*lebensunwertes Leben*). There were some objections by relatives to the mysterious deaths of so many mentally ill people, and a few psychiatrists were brave enough to resist what became a vast slaughter of their patients, but the killings went on. It was not long before the policy of eliminating the unit was extended to the Jews. According to Nazi racist theories, it was interbreeding with inferior races that had led to the decline of the Aryan *Volk*, and killing was obviously more effective than sterilization in preventing any further contamination.

Lifton points out that a high proportion of German doctors joined the Nazi party. At a late point in the regime, 45 percent of doctors were Nazis, more than twice the percentage of teachers. Because many of the most prominent doctors were Jewish and because Jews constituted about 13 percent of all German doctors, fears that Jews would dominate the medical profession were common. Anti-Semitism amongst doctors was so powerful that, Lifton writes, within two months of Hitler's becoming chancellor, some doctors contacted their Jewish colleagues on the pretext of arranging consultations, had them picked up in cars and then arranged that they should be taken to

remote places where they were beaten and left bleeding.

Once a doctor had been recruited to work in an extermination camp, the atmosphere was so different from that of ordinary life that a high degree of collaboration became inevitable. One of the Nazi doctors whom Lifton interviewed, who was at first very unhappy in Auschwitz, said of the camp: "One could react like a normal human being in Auschwitz only for the first few hours." After that, "you were caught and had to go along." This same Ernest B. acquired a reputation for being kinder to prisoners than the majority of Nazi doctors, managed to evade selecting prisoners for the gas chambers and, when arrested and tried after the war, was acquitted because of the number of ex-prisoners who testified on his behalf. Nevertheless, this exceptional doctor greatly admired the most notoriously cruel of all the Nazi doctors, Josef Mengele.

Lifton accounts for this discrepancy in perception by supposing a psychological mechanism of defences which he calls "doubling". By this, he means "the division of the self into two functioning wholes, so that a part-self acts as an entire self". Lifton contrasts this mechanism with other rather similar psychiatric concepts like splitting and dissociation, but I have to confess that he does not make the difference entirely

clear to me. Doubling is supposed to be distinct because it involves two different selves acting as whole persons. But 19th-century physicians, like Morton Prince, who used the term dissociation, describe their cases of multiple personality as exhibiting personalities which were completely different and yet operated as autonomous wholes. Lifton gives an excellent account of how what was originally a eugenic program turned into mass extermination. Although what the Nazis doctors did is indefensible, one cannot read this book without gaining enhanced insight into why they did it.

But I missed any explanation of why Hitler's ridiculous ideology, absurd ideas of race, distorted notions of genetics and all the rest of the Nazi hotch-potch of nonsense appealed so strongly, not only to the down-trodden and alienated, but to so many intelligent and highly-educated professional people. How is it that whole nations can embrace paranoid delusions? Perhaps Lifton's next book will explore this problem further. Meanwhile, we must salute another admirable account of how men behave in extreme situations.

Anthony Storr is a British psychiatrist and writer. His books include *"The Art of Psychotherapy"* and *"The Dynamics of Creation"*.

The Soviet Ancien Regime

UTOPIA IN POWER. The History of the Soviet Union From 1917 to the Present. By Mikhail Heller and Aleksandr Nekrich. Summit. 877. \$24.95.

A YOUNG MAN I know, who recently paid a long visit to the Soviet Union, returned impressed but muddled. Asked to explain why he liked Russia so much, he eventually came up with one portentous reason: "It has kept the modern world at bay."

There is a good deal of truth in this verdict. Of course this was not Lenin's intention. He wanted his new Soviet society to be the pioneer in modernism, having been enormously excited by Kurt Ballod's book *The Electric State*. Hence his slogan, "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification." But in practice the grotesque inefficiency endemic in the nonmarket economy he created, and the isolation his political autocracy demanded, have combined to make Russia in many ways one of the most old-fashioned of all the major states, including India and now even China. As a result, some of the most odious manifestations of modernity are simply not experienced in Russia, especially outside Moscow and Leningrad.

Hence behind this powerful, angry and well-documented account of 70 years of Soviet history lies a paradox: the Sovietization of Russia may have been to the long-term advantage of the West. As Heller and Nekrich point out, the economic growth of Russia in the decade before the First World War (indeed, right up to the Revolution) was creating an enormous industrial sector, on state-capitalist lines. Equally important, it was at last modernizing Russia's agriculture which in 1910 accounted for 40 per cent of all world wheat exports. In 1914 one French expert calculated that Russia's population, which rose from 135 million in 1800 to 171 million in 1912, would reach 343.9 million by 1948. Indeed it was fear of czarist Russia's "economic miracle" which

led the Kaiser's Germany to precipitate war in 1914, before it was too late.

The likelihood, then, is that if the czarist system had continued, or if the constitutional republic established in February 1917 had managed to survive, Russia would long since have bypassed the United States as the world's biggest economy; indeed, the fact that it is by far the largest geographical concentration of natural resources in history would by now have given it a dominant position in the world economy (no doubt with armed forces to match). The power of the Soviet army and its ability to hold down territory, together with every variety of propaganda on the Left, have concealed the magnitude of the Soviet failure. In short, thanks to Lenin, Stalin and their dutiful successors, perhaps the West has had the lucky escape — for czarist history indicates that a non-communist Russian paramountcy in the world would have been hard on us all.

One of the many merits of this book is that it shows, step by step, how the Leninist system, which has not been fundamentally changed since Stalin's modifications to it in the late 1920s and early 1930s, has acted as a constant brake on progress right down to the present. No one seems to be able to improve it. The authors are particularly interesting on the rule of Nikita Khrushchev, 1954-64, suggesting he made a genuine if ill-thought-out attempt to break out of the system's restraints. But he failed and was dismissed, and Brezhnev, ostensibly the most successful of all the Soviet rulers, reverted to conservatism for nearly two decades.

Now, after the short pontificates of Andropov and Chernenko, we have another activist in power; less headstrong than Khrushchev, no doubt, but operating in much less favorable conditions than any of his recent predecessors. For one thing, Russia, as the world's largest oil producer was the biggest beneficiary of the oil price

By Paul Johnson

revolution, pocketing an extra \$300 billion in foreign exchange alone; now that the price has collapsed, it is the biggest loser.

The account of Heller and Nekrich suggests to me that Soviet Russia has acquired some of the characteristics of an *ancien régime*. It has a general desire to reform itself but lacks the will to set about it systematically: the conservative forces are too great. Brezhnev indeed *opéra le décalé* to this: his attitude was *après moi le déluge*. Corrupt and self-indulgent, he was an old-fashioned, pre-war dictator. The authors tell us he awarded himself 60 war medals, the Karl Marx Gold Medal for "outstanding" theoretical work, the Lenin Peace Prize, the Lenin Prize for Literature ("at the request of the workers") and a new Party card bearing the number 2 (1 was Lenin's).

The ruling class, too, has many of the characteristics of an 18th-century aristocracy. Minor privileges begin with Communist Party membership: there were about 17.5 million members in 1981, 9 percent of the population. But the authors estimate the real nobility, the *nomenklatura*, at around 400,000, or 0.36 percent of the population. It is their existence, their stake in the regime — especially in the party's sole monopoly of power and their fear of change — which makes reform from above so difficult. If Mikhail Gorbachev has plans to play the role of an "enlightened despot," it is the top 400,000 who will make or break him, most likely the latter.

On the other hand, reform from below is virtually impossible since the Soviet system, unlike an *ancien régime*, has the will and capacity to kill or imprison many millions of its subjects. Under Stalin there were more prisoners than party members, at one time over twice as many. Even in 1977 there were some 1.6 million in camps and prisons. The authors describe various revolts against the system, within Russia and in the satellites; they make grim reading and hold out little hope.

A little heap of apples under the stairs

By Ralph Whitlock

"WHERE shall I put them?" enquired my wife, indicating a basket of apples a neighbour had given her. "In the place designed for storing apples," I told her, "the bedroom window-sill." Of course I was asleep in a room fragrant with the scent of apples and pears, and when I woke up during the night I think for a moment that I am a boy again. For then my father not only had an orchard of his own but also purchased the fruit of other orchards, for sale on his retail round.

Every bedroom had heaps of apples on the floor, as well as those adorning the window-sill. At bedtime my brother and I had to pick our way between piles of Tom Putte, Beauty of Bath, Orange Pippins, Bramleys and the rest, all of which we could then identify by taste in the dark, though I am not sure that I could now.

"What about the little heap under the stairs?" put in my wife, willing to let me know that she remembered as much about these matters as I did.

Ah yes. The Wassailing Song. "Old Apple Tree! Old Apple Tree!"

The steppes at harvest

By Martin Walker

UNTIL we drove through it, I had always assumed that the steppes of the Ukraine would be rather like Noel Coward's Norfolk, very flat.

Well, parts of it are flatish, with those peculiar picturesque horizontal lines you get in France, or the long avenues of trees alongside the road and dotted copses and belts of trees as windbreaks that impose interest on the view. But most of it is an endless rippling of soft swells, like a calm but powerful sea.

We drove from Odessa on the Black Sea coast up to the city of Kiev, and along the Dnyesna river until we came opposite Chernobyl, where the road forked to the east. It took us across the great battlefields around Kurak and Ori where the Red Army had stopped the German Panzers in 1943, in what is still the biggest tank battle in history.

The steppe is lovely at harvest. You can see its rolls and folds undulating into a blue distance, a little like the English downs. The roads here do not snake like Chesterton's "rolling English road," but hustle forward, straight as a die. Straighter than the Romans built them.

The occasional village looks rather mean and dusty. But they are not villages in our sense. There is no church or inn or little knot of shops to attract a traveller or to provide a focus for the community. There is usually a thin line of old women in headscarves sitting behind buckets full of tomatoes or apples or fat red potatoes.

The centre of road life is the petrol station, marked for a hundred yards in advance by the queues of trucks waiting to fill up. The drivers set up small barbecues to grill shashlik, cubes of meat on a skewer.

They're scruffy places, where you have to drive in first to see whether they have in stock any of the higher octane petrol for passenger cars. If you are lucky, you hand over your petrol coupons, and then serve yourself. The lavatories, like everywhere in the Russian countryside, are earth privies. A well-kept station is one that provides turn-up squares of Pravda. Usually, you have to bring your own.

This is a country where horses and carts are still common, jogging

We wassail thee and hope that thou wilt bear
Hats full,
Cups full,
Dress bushel baskets full
... a little heap under the stairs."

So we chanted on the eve of Old Twelfth Night when we went on to wassail the apple trees, anointing their roots with libations of cider, wedging cider-soaked toast in the branches for the robins to eat, and discharging shot-guns up through the branches to make sure the apple-tree goddess was awake and noting what we were doing. We wanted to ensure that no neglect of ours would deter the trees from bearing a good harvest next year.

And the cupboard under the stairs was certainly another recognised place for storing apples. Also sacks of gleaned wheat, in the days before we had a farm and my grandmother went gleanng.

Storage space was at a premium in cottage homes. Great-grandfather William has held me of an old chapel preacher who, living in a three-roomed hut bursting at the seams like a long-tailed tit's nest with proliferating children,

used to keep his family Bible, wrapped in oilskin, in a recess in the thatch over his back door. And storage space was at a premium.

It is axiomatic that farmers in Britain need to devote the five months of summer of growing and conserving crops to feed the farm livestock during the seven months of winter. Less generally recognised is the fact that, until well into the present century, the same forethought had to be applied to human needs. Cash being a scarce commodity in cottage homes, one didn't waste it on food that prudent parents could themselves provide.

In my boyhood home, a cottage enlarged to make a smallish farmhouse, an important feature of the kitchen was the bacon-rack. This was a series of planks, a foot or so apart, fastened to the great exposed beam in the ceiling. Autumn saw the sacrifice of the pig which had been fattening all the summer in the sty by the privy at the far end of the garden path.

I believe I have in a previous article described the ritual in which, on misty mornings in October or November, my father played the role of executioner, and in which I was a regular acolyte. The feast that followed, spread over a week or so, was one of the gastronomic highlights of the year. Fresh meat was for once abun-

dant, and we also tucked into such luxuries as chitterlings, faggots, scraps (cracklings), eye-pieces and other titbits which my mother understood well how to prepare. As this delectable period tapered off we were left with a store of hams, Bath chaps, brawn and sides of bacon. These last had been salted several times by having the salt well rubbed in, by hand, while they lay in a wooden salt.

Some-times one, or a part of one, was hung in the wide chimney, for smoking. When all the operations were finished, the cured bacon took its place in the bacon rack. As we sat at breakfast beneath it throughout the winter we could watch it gradually disappearing as my father, from time to time, cut off chunks of it, for slicing into rashers. Or often we simply had cold bacon for breakfast. Towards the end of the winter the outside of the cuts tended to become rancid and had to be pared off, but that was regarded as evidence of imperfect curing.

The bacon rack in our house extended right to one wall, enabling the plank nearest the wall to be hung with strings of onions, bunches of herbs and basins of lard. The brawn, also in basins, shared a stonelined cupboard over the bread-oven with jars of pickles, sundry bottles of herbal remedies, several jars of slab-like vinegar

plants and other mysteries. My mother baked bread in the bread-oven, which, however, was used just as frequently for baking bags of feathers for stuffing pillows and cushions.

In our part of the country cheese was not often made, and we made butter every week throughout the year so did not need to store it (though we sometimes had to place the pats in cold water in warm weather). We did, however, sometimes smoke fish, in a home-made smoke-box, when my father brought home from market more fresh herrings than we could immediately eat. As I remember it, our smoke-box was a box or barrel let into the ground but equipped with ventilation and flues to ensure a steady current of air over the smouldering sawdust. I do recall that the sawdust had to be of oak.

Potatoes and all the root crops were stored in outdoor clamps, always known as pits, because at least half their area was below the surface. When in the late 1940s and 1950s I used to conduct quizzes on the radio or for Young Farmers Clubs one of the questions I sometimes asked was, "What thatching job on the farm could you do without a ladder?" The answer was, "Thatching a tattie-pit or the bread-oven with jars of pickles, sundry bottles of herbal remedies, several jars of slab-like vinegar now."



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